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# MY PUBLIC LIFE



HOURLY

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The Author



# *My Public Life*

RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS

OF

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL

K.C.I.E., O.B.E., LL.D.

*George Allen & Unwin Ltd*

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*Dedicated to  
the honoured and beloved memory of  
His Highness Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur  
of Mysore*





## FOREWORD

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FRIENDS not only in my own country but scattered on three continents have suggested I should write my memoirs; "they would interest many," one of them put it. Now that for the first time for many years I have leisure from the cares of public life, I have responded to these suggestions, and I here recall something of my life and experiences in official positions extending over four decades. It is not easy, however, to write about oneself, and partly for this reason, and partly in order to make the memoirs more interesting, I have quoted from letters received and have said much about other people with whom either my family or I have come in direct contact.

This purports to be a frank book. I have tried to avoid hurting feelings or treading upon toes. Quite a number of distinguished persons figure in these pages. I hope I have been neither idolatrous nor iconoclastic in my references to them, while exercising independence of judgment, praising where praise was due and criticising where criticism was called for. In this way the book may make some contribution to the history of the sub-continent in the momentous first half of the twentieth century.

First and foremost, let me acknowledge my deep obligation to my old friend, Sir Frank Brown, C.I.E. His help and guidance have been of the greatest value to me not only in editing and revising the book but also in assisting in its publication in England. Also, I am deeply grateful to Mr. J. C. Rollo, a life-long friend, for the many valuable suggestions he has made and for all the great help I have received from him. Further, I am indebted to Mr. E. G. Barter, I.C.S. (retired), my friend and neighbour, for his assistance. I have also to thank Dr. James H. Cousins, who has been such a good friend for many years, for giving me the benefit of his advice on several points.





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*Nineteenth-Century Bangalore*

OF Persian descent, I was born in Bangalore in 1883. My father, Aga Jan, was the son of Ali Asker Shirazi, and my mother's father and mother also came from Shiraz. My maternal grandfather, Mashadi Kazim, was a prosperous merchant and had settled in Bombay. His brother, Mashadi Hussain, built the fine Shiah Mosque in Bombay, employing masons he specially imported from Persia. The mosque is a well-endowed institution with an income, at present, of about Rs. 4,000/- a month, which is utilized for the benefit of the Shiah community of Bombay.

Ali Asker, my grandfather, with his elder brother, arrived in Bangalore from Shiraz in 1824, when he was barely sixteen years of age. They brought a string of horses from Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and established themselves as importers of horses at a time when Australian horses were not known in India. They supplied horses to the Remount Depot, the Maharaja's stables, and the military in Bangalore and Mysore. They also carried on business in Persian shawls.

Not long after their arrival, Ali Asker lost his brother, who was drowned in the River Cauvery when on his way back from Mangalore with his horses. The brothers lie buried close to each other in the picturesque Persian cemetery near the Arab Lines in Bangalore.

Ali Asker was so charmed with Bangalore and its climate that he decided to make it his permanent home, and he never returned to Iran. No wonder the city attracted him so much. Situated at an altitude of a little over 3,000 feet, and with an equable climate all the year round which could be described briefly as one requiring neither fan nor fire, Bangalore is one of the most salubrious cities in India. It was known as the pensioners' paradise. A large number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, on retirement



from business or Government service, came to settle down here from various parts of India. Two monsoons provide it with an annual rainfall of 35 inches, which keeps it green throughout the year, except in the months of March and April when the grass dries up. But then Nature compensates Bangalore in other ways. The flowering trees in their gorgeous colours—the blue and mauve jacaranda, the pink and red cassias, the yellow peltophorums, the pink largestrocmias, the plumirias, and the gold mohur, its whole top crowned with a mass of red flowers. These are the most beautiful among them—and there are other trees, like the honge and the rain tree, which put on their fresh green leaves at the driest time of the year. All these trees make the summer delightful, especially to the tree lover.

The population was only 142,500 in 1870. It now exceeds 800,000 and bids fair to reach the million mark by next census, in 1961. Bangalore is now an important industrial centre. The aircraft, telephone and machine tool factories—all Government of India concerns—are located here. It has four textile mills, a porcelain factory and other factories belonging to the Mysore Government, besides important educational institutions like the Indian Institute of Science, a theological college and the university colleges. There are several European schools for both boys and girls, and a Roman Catholic seminary for the education and training of Indian Catholic priests. This institution was previously in Pondicherry. When the Bishop of Mysore told me that they were thinking of moving it, I said that there could be no better place for it than Bangalore. He agreed and I was able to provide a prominent site near the porcelain, glass and lamp factories. I told the Bishop that I should like to see *his* "factory" also established there.

This is the Bangalore of to-day. But in Ali Asker's time it must have been a very quiet and attractive town. Traces are still left in the large compounds attached to many of the bungalows. But they are being rapidly broken up into smaller sites and built upon. A good many houses in the best part of Bangalore, called the High Ground, were built and owned by Ali Asker. The spacious house in which I live, in a compound of about five acres, was his property, and is situated on the road named after him.



I moved into this house when I ceased to be Dewan. My last tenant thought it wonderful that I should be spending so much money on the house without any request from him. I was not so unselfish as all that, as I told him. I was simply looking ahead and getting the house and grounds ready for myself against the day when I should have to move out of my official residence.

Ali Asker was quite illiterate, but he was endowed with strong common sense and possessed qualities which enabled him to make a great success of his life. He died on August 15, 1891, at the age of 83. His life was, on the whole, a very happy one. He experienced far more rewards than buffets of fortune. His only great sorrow, in his long life, was the death of his eldest son in a steeplechase accident in Bangalore. He had no faith in banks, but only in bricks and mortar, and invested all his money in house property. This was a very wise practice, and his descendants have good reason to appreciate it, for we are enjoying its fruits. His properties have since his day risen greatly in value—in some cases as much as twenty-fold. He was known as the "Jaghirdar" of High Ground, being the largest landowner both in the city and the civil and military station.

Although he had several grown-up sons, he would not allow any of them to enter Government service. His notions of respectability and dignity were curious. His British friends often advised him to put his sons in service and offered to give them all a good start, but this did not appeal to him. He preferred them to lead an independent life rather than serve anybody, even a government. Such was the prejudice he had brought from his native land against Government service. It was with some difficulty, therefore, that Dewan Rangacharlu prevailed upon him to allow my father to accept the honorary post of musahib or aide-de-camp to the young Maharaja, Sri Chamaraja Wadiyar. My father was devoted to the Maharaja, and the attraction was mutual. His Highness's untimely death in Calcutta in 1894, when he was only 31 years old, was a grievous blow to the State and was universally deplored. Both his elder brothers, strangely enough, had died at exactly the same age and he had a presentiment that he would not himself live beyond it.

The Chief Commissioner of Mysore in the days before



rendition, Sir Mark Cubbon, was very kind to Ali Asker, who enjoyed his friendship and confidence in a marked degree. Sir Mark often visited his stable for a chat and a cup of tea, and to see the horses. He was a great lover of horses and owned a large stable. Ali Asker enjoyed the friendship of successive British administrators and had free access to the Residency, which was regarded as a rare honour in those days. He was an enthusiastic racing man. His horses were often to be seen on the racecourses of Bombay and Hyderabad, besides Bangalore and Mysore. He was quite ignorant of English and could not speak Hindustani either, but he got on splendidly, nevertheless, with his Indian and European friends. He was a steward of the Bangalore Turf Club, a rare distinction then for a non-European.

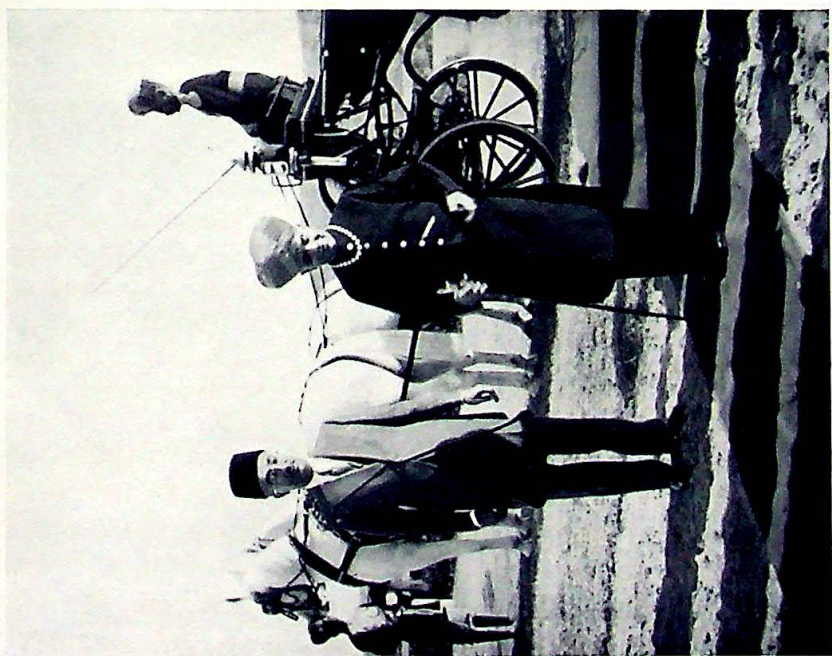
His Highness the first Aga Khan (grandfather of the great racing magnate of our day) and Ali Asker were close friends. The Aga Khan was an annual visitor to Bangalore and invariably brought his racehorses with him. He was a generous patron of the local turf club. My maternal grandmother was an old friend of Lady Ali Shah, the present Aga Khan's mother. His Highness wrote to me on January 17, 1935: "Wherever I may be, I always remember you very dearly, for not only our personal friendship is so affectionate, but our families have been most beloved friends for well-nigh a century."

M. Shama Rao, a Mysore historian, has this to say of Ali Asker in his book, *Modern Mysore*.

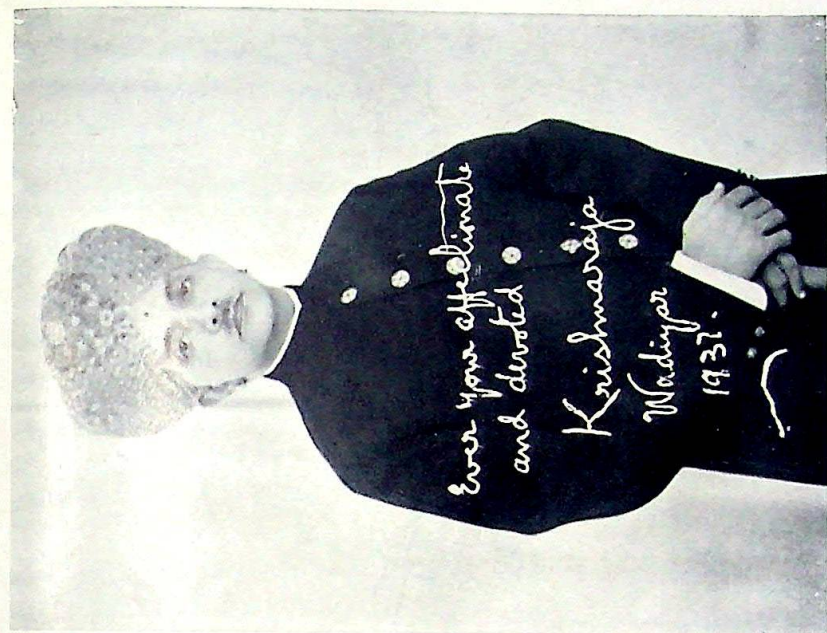
Ali Asker was a merchant by profession and enjoyed a high reputation among all classes of people in Mysore. He had easy access to Maharaja Krishnaraj Wadiyar, who treated him as a friend and used often to entrust him with important letters for posting. To preserve the confidential nature of letters, Ali Asker used to take them himself to Hosur, beyond the Mysore border, and post them there.

The British Government took over charge of the State on the deposition of the ruler in 1831, and carried on the administration in his name through a Chief Commissioner until 1881, when the adopted son of the late ruler, Sri Chamaraja Wadiyar, was invested with full ruling powers and proclaimed Maharaja. The Commission's administration was marked by progress in all directions





His Highness the Maharaja Krishnaraja Wadiyar and the Author.



An inscribed photograph from H.H. the Maharaja Krishnaraja Wadiyar to Sir Mirza Ismail.





and it was on the foundation thus securely laid by them that their Indian successors were able to rear an edifice which became known as the model State of India. The appellation acquired an added meaning with the passage of years. Mahatma Gandhi described it as almost Ramrajya, and Lord Sankey, the Chairman of the Indian Round Table Conference, spoke of Mysore as "a pattern for the world."

Sir Mark Cubbon was Chief Commissioner of Mysore for more than twenty-seven years. He administered the State with singular devotion to its interests. The house in which he lived in Bangalore was his personal property, and he built a palatial bungalow for himself on the Nandi Hills, where he usually spent three months in the year. These hills, which are only thirty miles from Bangalore, are about 4,900 feet above sea level, nearly 2,000 feet higher than Bangalore and ten degrees cooler.

The Isle of Man gave Mysore not only Sir Mark Cubbon, but his uncle, Colonel Mark Wills, the historian of Mysore, who went from the State to St. Helena, where for two years and a half, as Governor, he did much for the good of the island. Napoleon, who was then a prisoner on the island, admired his literary performances and respected his character as a man and as a governor.

Sir Mark Cubbon was born in 1785 and was the seventh son of the Rev. Thomas Cubbon, Vicar of the Parish of Manghold. In 1801, when he was sixteen years of age, through the influence of his uncle, Colonel Wills, Mark obtained an Indian cadet's appointment. He was first commissioned to the 2nd Madras Battalion, and in 1804 to the 2nd Battalion of the 5th Native Infantry, in which he served with the force commanded by Colonel Chalmers in Travancore. Wills was appointed Resident at Mysore and there Cubbon spent many of his early days, becoming intimately acquainted with the then infant Raja and the politics of the State. In 1810 he was appointed to the Commissariat Department in Mysore, and in the following year became Assistant Commissary-General. In 1827 he was promoted Commissary-General, and continued in this office for seven years. In 1834 Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India, selected him for the office of Chief Commissioner of Mysore. It



is not too much to say that for the next twenty-seven years he was the real ruler of Mysore. He continued to hold office till March, 1861, when he resigned as a protest against the treatment he received from Lord Moyra. His health too was failing. He sailed for England and died at Suez on April 23, 1861.

On his retirement there was a general desire to commemorate fittingly the distinguished services which he had rendered to the State and its people, and to show the very high estimation in which all classes held his open-handed liberality and many other noble qualities. Subscriptions from all quarters were supplemented by a donation of Rs. 10,000/- from the Maharaja. It was decided that a statue of Cubbon should be erected in Bangalore. Several of the most eminent sculptors were consulted, and finally Sig. Marochetti was commissioned. The statue, which is of bronze, was cast in the sculptor's studio and was shipped from England in October, 1864. Owing to stress of weather in the Bay of Biscay and other mishaps, the vessel in which it was freighted was obliged to run into a Spanish port for repairs, and it was not until more than a year after the date of shipment that the statue was landed at Madras. It was erected on a prominent site in front of the imposing line of public offices overlooking the great park that bears Cubbon's name. These buildings had been constructed by him in 1860.



*Mysore Administration*

I BEGAN my English education at St. Patrick's School, Shoolay, not far from Richmond Town, Bangalore, where we lived. After a year I was transferred to the Wesleyan Mission High School in the city. I remained there until 1896, when I was selected for admission to the Maharaja's special class of nine boys, including himself. His Tutor and Governor was Mr. S. M. (now Sir Stuart) Fraser, an I.C.S. officer of outstanding ability. He had already educated with much success two Indian princes, the Maharajas of Bhavnagar and Kolhapur. Young himself (he was only thirty-one), Mr. Fraser proved a great success in Mysore also.

His Highness and his classmates lived in the Summer Palace. Besides regular class-work between 10.30 and 4.30, we had daily instruction in drill, both infantry and cavalry, riding and outdoor games such as cricket, football and tennis. Polo and hunting were also practised.

I left the Maharaja's class in 1901, and joined the Central College, Bangalore, graduating in 1905. I was appointed to the Mysore Police Service and later to the Civil Service. The Maharaja insisted on my appointment to his staff and there I gradually rose to be Assistant Secretary, then Huzur Secretary in 1913, and Private Secretary in 1923, succeeding R. H. Campbell, a senior I.C.S. officer from Madras, who retired owing to illness. I was the first Indian to occupy the position. The Private Secretary to the Maharaja enjoyed the status of a minister and it was considered a key post. In due time I became the most senior officer in the State next to the Dewan; and when the Dewanship fell vacant in 1926 the Maharaja appointed me, although I was thought to be rather young (42) for such a responsible post. I held the office until May, 1941—a period of fifteen years, the



longest, with the exception of that of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, K.C.S.I., which covered eighteen years.

I asked the Maharaja now and again if the time had not come for me to make room for someone else. The occupant might not get tired—as seldom happened—of the seat, but the seat, I said, seemed to get tired of him and clamoured for a change. On the last occasion, when I spoke of this to him—this was six months or so before his death—as we were driving together to the Palace, he was somewhat displeased at my renewing the subject. In a tone of some impatience he said that I should first take him “over there”—pointing in the direction of the cremation ground—then do whatever I liked. He added that there was, so far as he was concerned, no question of having another Dewan so long as he and I were alive.

In August, 1928, disturbances, in which schoolboys took a prominent part, arose in Bangalore. The real cause of trouble was the unpopularity of a Muslim politician who happened to be the President of the City Municipal Council. He was much disliked by a large section of the Hindus. He had his failings and there were good grounds for his unpopularity, as I discovered after my retirement from service, but he was a very competent man, full of enthusiasm for his work. I rather liked him for this reason, and took him out with me on my weekly town inspection, which I used to do on horseback, accompanied by the Municipal Commissioner, the Health Officer and the Executive Engineer of the Municipality. I thus came to be regarded as his patron and supporter and in consequence drew much of the fire on myself. The rioting took a serious turn and, although it was soon put down, it left an aftermath of ill-feeling between the two communities which took some time to disappear. The *Daily Mail* of London took keen interest in the affair and published sensational accounts, much to our embarrassment.

A letter which the Maharaja wrote to me during those anxious days shows his inborn sense of justice. Once he took his stand on any matter, nothing would daunt him. He was unswerving in his loyalty to those who were loyal to him.

I cannot keep quiet any longer without writing these few lines to you. I hope that you will not think that I have not been feeling for you and



yours these last few days while all these troubles are going on around you. I pray that your health may not break down under the strain.

His Highness rejoiced at any success I achieved. As an answer to a rumour set afloat by interested parties that I was to retire shortly, he announced in 1935 his decision extending my term of office by five years. The announcement was well received and a grand entertainment was given to me at the Lal Bagh (public gardens) on the 19th of February, 1935, by the citizens of Bangalore. Sitting beside me was the British Resident, who remarked to me that in no other Indian state would such a popular demonstration for the Dewan have been permitted by the Ruler.

In Mysore we always prided ourselves on the quality of the High Court and on the independence of our judiciary. "Never have the Government, by word or hint or deed, interfered in the slightest degree with our judicial work." This was said by Sir D'Arcy Reilly, the Chief Justice, in the course of a public speech in June, 1940. He added:

Proposals and requests which in other parts of the world, as I know from experience, might have to be urged for months and years together before anything would come of them are, if the Government can properly do it, granted to us almost in the twinkling of an eye. That is a very remarkable feature of the administration of Mysore, which struck me very much when I first came here. I well remember the first occasion when, not long after I arrived, I made a request for assistance. It was discussed with me personally. I put forward my request with some hesitation, though I hope I explained the grounds for it clearly. And it was answered with an immediate "Yes." I hope I did not show my feelings too clearly; but really I gave a gasp of delighted surprise. I went home and said to my wife, "This is indeed a good place—very different from some others we know."

The Mysore High Court commanded respect throughout India, and its judgments were cited by the Indian High Courts. We had as our Chief Justice eminent Englishmen, such as J. W. Best, R. B. Plumer, Sir Leslie Miller, Sir Stanley Ismay and Sir D'Arcy Reilly, and eminent Indians, too, like Ramachandra Iyer, K. S. Chandrasekhara Iyer and C. S. Doraswamy Iyer. A country whose judiciary is weak or otherwise unsatisfactory and does not



enjoy the full confidence of the public cannot hope to be a progressive or happy country.

Mysore had two popular State institutions—the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. The former embodied the Oriental concept of democracy and the latter the Occidental. The Representative Assembly owed its establishment to Dewan Rangacharlu, who had the full support of Sir James Gordon. (Sir James was Guardian to the Maharaja, and, on the latter's investiture with ruling powers, became Resident in Mysore.) The main function of this body was to represent the wants and grievances of the public, but it had no legislative powers. Its members were brought face to face with the administration once a year. This was the best way of preventing any possibility of trouble in the State such as led fifty years ago to the deposition of the Maharaja. On one side sat the direct representatives of the people, putting questions about the administration, criticizing the acts of officials, and asking for redress of grievances or for this or that benefit for their locality. On the other side, facing them, sat the chief officials of the State, headed by the Dewan, the President of the Assembly, answering the questions put to them, promising redress or enquiry. Orders were often passed then and there.

The Representative Assembly was not a mere petitioning body, for it exercised considerable influence over the administration. One had only to glance over the 290-page volume of the proceedings of each session, or spend a day or two in the Assembly, to realize how useful an institution it was. It was not often that full-dress debates on great questions of policy occurred, as they do in more pretentious assemblies, though this sometimes happened as on the Newspaper Bill of 1938. The bulk of the business was concerned with day to day administration, and with the numerous needs of the people. Wells to be sunk, tanks to be repaired, roads to be built, allegations against the conduct of Government officials, establishment of dispensaries and veterinary hospitals—it may all be summed up as the politics of the parish pump. But the parish pump, or rather the village well, is nearer and more important to the raiyat than constitutional reforms or federation or paramountcy.



The Legislative Council was modelled on the lines of those in British India, with questions and answers, the passing of resolutions, legislation, etc. The two bodies together made a truly admirable legislature.

Two Constitutional Reforms Committees, composed of some of the most eminent men in the State, which considered the question of political reforms—one in 1923 and the other in 1939—unanimously recommended the continuance of the Representative Assembly as a unique feature of the Mysore Constitution which, during its sixty-five years of existence, had more than justified itself. It has been abolished under the new dispensation, which has brought about a dead uniformity in all parts of the country. This tendency to kill all initiative in local administrations is unfortunate for India. Respect for old customs and traditions is necessary in a society which seeks stability and steady evolution, not dramatic decisions.

At a public function in Jaipur on March 30, 1952, the Union Minister for States, in complimenting the late Sardar Vallabhai Patel on his "great achievement of integrating the States" with the rest of India and thus bringing about the unification of the country, as if there had been no unity before, observed that "the different Indian States before integration had their own peculiarities and loyalties. It would have been a disservice to the new India if these different loyalties had been perpetuated. They had States and Governments of a kind in the past, but they now have a State in which the voice of the people is sovereign."

Such an *ex-cathedra* pronouncement does not bear scrutiny. It may convince the prejudiced or ignorant, but not those who are aware of the facts and keep an open mind. By killing all local loyalty and initiative you do not strengthen but weaken the country. As regards the voice of the people, it could have prevailed in the Indian States (as it actually did in some States) as much as it does in the new India. Some of the States, notably Mysore and Baroda, were in advance of the rest of India in point of administrative efficiency and in economic and cultural development. The people were certainly happier than they are at present. To say that India is now a more united, a more homogeneous and a more powerful country than it was in the



British days before the disappearance of the princely States is a claim which certainly errs on the side of exaggeration.

Mysore is eminent in every branch and stage of education. I refer elsewhere to the fine educational work of the various missionary bodies. The Indian Institute of Science, one of the most notable research establishments in India, is located in Bangalore. The Government colleges are inferior to none in the country. The Central College in Bangalore (the chief science college) achieved a remarkable reputation in both teaching and research, while the Maharaja's College in Mysore City has done fine work in the humanities, east and west. The University, established in 1917, has notably encouraged original work. Since India became independent, great attention has been paid to its various languages and literatures. In Mysore this has long been so in respect of Kannada, and I cannot praise too highly the achievements of scholars in developing the language, in reviving the study of Kannada literature, and indeed in enriching that literature with their own notable works in poetry and prose.

The universities in India, almost without exception, have sadly degenerated of late. Their atmosphere is being poisoned by politics. Their standards and the quality of their graduates have, for a variety of reasons, been lowered to a catastrophic degree. It is to be hoped that the authorities will turn their attention to this vital matter, for without efficiency and integrity in the universities the country's progress will be severely handicapped.

Elementary education is spreading rapidly in Mysore. Particularly gratifying, too, is the success of systematic efforts in adult education, both in mere literacy and, beyond this, in the voluntary extension work done by members of the University in every part of the State.

A remarkable number of women now take pass, honours and post-graduate degrees in the University; and Mysore women have been prominent in the movements endeavouring to increase the influence of Indian women in social and other matters. I am glad to think of the part played in this by my wife. She was, for fifteen years, President of the Mysore State Women's Organiza-



tion, and her services were recognized by the award of the Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal. She was also much interested in the State Girl Guides and was their Chief Commissioner.

Mysore was in the forefront in Indian efforts to promote birth control. The late Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer of Madras, who was childless himself, took a keen interest in the movement, realizing the fundamental importance of it to this country. "I am sorry," he wrote to me (February, 1931), "it was not possible for you to pay a visit to Dr. Marie Stopes's clinic (in London). I suggested it, not because I was dissatisfied with what Mysore had done, but because I wanted you to go further. One of the difficulties you are encountering now is the want of an adequate number of lady doctors or midwives with sufficient experience of the technique of contraception. . . ."

A meeting for the promotion of birth control was held at the house of a Nepalese nobleman who had settled down in Bangalore. The amusing part of it was that the host had no family to boast of, while Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer and the other two speakers, an Indian gentleman and a British colonel, all were childless!

Birth control, or family planning, is now widely recognized to be of vital importance to this country. Our administrators will have to pay earnest attention to the problem if we are to be saved from misery resulting from over-population. The present rate of increase is five million a year and India's population will swell to over 400 million in the next ten years, perhaps to a more spectacular figure if the expectancy of human life is raised from twenty-seven to about forty during the period as the result of economic betterment and improved medical facilities. Research designed to develop contraceptive methods that are thoroughly safe and effective, cheap and simple, has to be carried out with the assistance of Western countries.

Cow-protection is a subject of perennial interest in India. I once received a telegram from the Secretary of the Jameat-i-Ulama-i-Hind, Delhi, asking for my views on the cow question. I replied that Islam, while approving of cow-sacrifice, abhorred such performance of it as might wound the feelings of others. Further, I could not regard the question as a purely or even mainly religious one, but would stress rather its economic



importance. It was chiefly for economic reasons that the Government of Mysore hesitated to introduce cow-protection, as so many other States had done. No cows were sacrificed in this State on Bakrid day. I added that I deprecated the stressing of religious differences, especially at that time. The Mysore Government appointed a special committee consisting entirely of Hindus to advise them on this question. The committee expressed itself unanimously against any restriction in the matter of cattle slaughter. Their opinion was based mainly on economic grounds. Since partition the Congress Government of Mysore have introduced legislation prohibiting cow slaughter, while the neighbouring Congress Government of Madras have not done so. In Rajputana cattle slaughter has never been permitted, while in the State of Kashmir, in the days of the Maharajas, those guilty of killing a cow were liable to the death sentence. Import of beef in any form was strictly prohibited. The continuing campaign of Hindu extremists throughout India for the total prohibition of cow slaughter is political in motive. Wiser and more sincere is the Congress in seeking rather the *welfare* of the cow.

A notable event in my time was the reduction by Rs. 10½ lakhs of the annual subsidy of Rs. 35 lakhs (3½ million rupees) imposed on the State on its transfer to the Hindu dynasty. This was in 1928, when Lord Irwin was Viceroy. The Resident, Mr. (afterwards Sir) S. E. Pears, exerted himself to the utmost in securing this partial relief from a heavy burden. His Highness was gracious enough to write to me in this connection:

On this day when our hearts are full of the successful issue of the struggle of thirty-five years for the reduction of the Subsidy, I feel that it is only right to put on record my sense of the debt which Mysore owes to you for your part in bringing about this happy conclusion. His Excellency the Viceroy has told us that the leading motive of the Government of India in making the remission was to reward good government, and I feel that their decision has been influenced not only by your advocacy of the claims of the State, but even more by the assurance that in your hands the money would be spent in the best possible manner for the good of Mysore. It will, I am sure, be very gratifying to you to know that I have it on the highest authority



that the State owes to you, more than to anyone else, the result that has been achieved.

I accompanied His Highness on his trip to Europe in 1936. He enjoyed it very much, interested as he was in everything—architecture, music, politics, natural scenery, motoring, horses and zoological gardens (he owned the best zoo in India). His tour included a visit to Berlin. The German Government desired to give him an official reception, but the invitation was declined.

Lord Willingdon came to Mysore as Viceroy in November, 1933. He first knew the State when he was Governor of Bombay, and he came once or twice while he was Governor of Madras. Lord and Lady Willingdon were both good friends of the Maharaja and his mother, and were well known and popular in the State. As we were driving in procession to Lalitha Mahal, the principal guest-house, Lady Willingdon told me that His Excellency was very annoyed with me and was going to give me a dressing down. I could not help smiling, and said that I did not mind any amount of scolding from His Excellency, whom I held in great esteem and affection.

I was sent for the next day. The Viceroy, in characteristically genial manner, said to me: "Look here, Mirza, what have you been doing?" Every Governor, he said, had written to him objecting to the views expressed by me in a recent address to the Mysore Representative Assembly. I was surprised, and replied that my motive was so obviously good that I could not understand anybody objecting to what I had said. I mentioned that, on a previous occasion, a similar statement had earned for me the cordial approbation of his predecessor, Lord Irwin, and that I had meant to be helpful. He listened to me patiently and merely said, "Don't do it again, my dear fellow." I said I would not, since I had no desire to offend him in any way.

I give below the relevant passages in the addresses to the Assembly in 1926 and 1933—the former of which pleased Lord Irwin, and the latter did not please Lord Willingdon and the Governors.

From my address in 1926:

We are living in stirring times. India is in the throes of a supreme crisis. What the upshot of it all will be, no man can tell. We can only



hope for the best. We of the Indian States may not be directly involved in the conflict that is going on around us, but the consequences flowing from it are not going to leave us untouched; they will affect us as much as the rest of India.

To my mind the tragedy of the whole situation lies in this. Both sides mean well, both are anxious to advance India's interests. The goal is there; it stands in shining splendour on the horizon. There is on one side a great and patriotic soul who may be said to represent the spirit of India and to voice her sentiments as probably no one else can do, giving passionate expression, as he does, to the growing feeling of national self-consciousness which has lately swept over the country like a flood tide. And on the other side, representing a great nation, there is a sagacious and highly-esteemed statesman, whose greatness of heart and whose love for our country is recognized by all. Surely it should not be impossible to bridge the gulf that divides the two sides.

Among the forces that have helped to bring India together, undoubtedly the most potent are the British connection and the English language. It is they that have created, and are fostering, the spirit of nationalism which is so striking a feature of the life of the country to-day. It is not to the interest of India to eliminate either of these forces before adequate substitutes for them have been found, and this is a process which cannot be accomplished in a day.

God grant to all those in whose hands the destiny of this country rests wisdom, patience and the readiness to consider the other side's point of view with generous spirit and impartial mind; and let there be a common determination not to allow obstacles to come in the way of a peaceful and satisfactory settlement.

From the Address of 1933:

I am confident that the solution of the more serious of our political and economic problems is only a question of time and adaptation of our systems to our circumstances. Meanwhile, it is undesirable that our temporary difficulties should be unduly magnified and the many gratifying signs of progress overlooked.

And here I am tempted to say that there is one man above all others who can help us towards a reconciliation of our difficulties, and towards that new phase of character that is the groundwork of self-government. I am not one of those who wish Mahatma Gandhi to retire from politics. There never was a time when India so badly needed the guidance of a genuine leader, and in him we have one who holds a unique position in the country and is not only a convinced lover



of peace and an ardent patriot, but also a far-seeing, sagacious statesman. I feel that he is qualified far better than anyone else to reconcile the conflicting elements in the country and to induce them all to march together a further stage along the road that leads to self-government. He also has it in his power, as no one else has, to establish the happiest relations between India and Great Britain. I feel sure that the Government have in him a powerful ally and Great Britain a true friend. If he should retire from politics at this juncture, there are indications that the arena would, in all probability, be occupied by demagogues and vain visionaries out to mislead themselves and the country by meaningless shibboleths.

I might add that I personally found in the Mahatma a powerful ally at the Second Round Table Conference when voicing my criticisms of the feature of the White Paper Constitution which seems to me to be most open to criticism, that is, the composition of the Upper Chamber.

On arriving in Madras from Mysore, Lord Willingdon was told that the Maharaja of Mysore, who had just been entertaining him, was now going to entertain Mr. Gandhi as a guest. This, the Viceroy was told, would have a most undesirable effect, and would place other States, such as Travancore, in a very difficult and invidious position should Mr. Gandhi think of going there also. Lord Willingdon was much upset, and wrote a long letter to the Maharaja in his own hand requesting him not to entertain the Mahatma as a State guest. The Private Secretary asked for my advice. I suggested that the Maharaja might write to His Excellency and tell him the exact position—that Mr. Gandhi was not going to be a guest of the State; his hosts were the public of Bangalore, at whose pressing invitation he was coming. All that the Government had done was to place their principal guest-house, Kumara Park, at the disposal of the Bangalore leaders for the Mahatma's use, a courtesy invariably shown to distinguished visitors. The Maharaja (I suggested) might add that, as the Viceroy did not seem to approve of this, he would instruct the Dewan to withdraw the invitation. I said I would then take up the matter with the Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Accordingly, I wrote to Sir Eric Miéville, the Private Secretary, a charming and understanding officer, explaining how Kumara Park (and also Seshadri House in Mysore) had been



placed at the disposal of Mr. Gandhi's hosts, as had been done on a previous occasion which had synchronized with Lord Irwin's visit to Bangalore. Refusal, I said, would have greatly disappointed the public and would have given local malcontents an excuse for agitation. The offer would be withdrawn if His Excellency so wished, but I thought that this was unnecessary and would be unfortunate. Sir Eric replied at once that the Viceroy fully understood and did not wish arrangements to be altered.

My respect for Lord Willingdon was great and I was indebted to him for many kindnesses, so I was anxious to prevent him from doing something for which he would be severely criticized. He was frank by nature and appreciated frankness in others, as I found more than once. In this matter he had been misinformed and misled. So was it also with his dislike of Mahatma Gandhi and his politics. I think that, left to himself, he would have modified his views, but he had prejudiced advisers around him. Characteristic of his personal generosity and friendliness is a letter in which he wrote:

Very grateful thanks for all you did for us during our visit to His Highness and our wonderful morning at Bangalore. I have vivid recollections of our amazing reception in that city, and still more vividly I remember the marvellous effect you have produced at the Krishnaraja Sagar Dam . . . .

You're a wonder! Go on and all luck go with you. If you will only give up the idea of Gandhi as a leader of political thought in this country, for, believe me, he is temperamentally a bad politician, you will, I know, do much to further the interests of India within the British Empire.

Among the privileges of administration was that of association with the many religious bodies in the State, and of endeavouring to help them—finding a site for a Protestant church or for a Roman Catholic seminary, laying the foundation-stone of a Hindu temple or a Christian church, trying to smooth out difficulties and promote mutual understanding.

When inspecting schools and colleges, I made it a point to impress upon the staff the importance of order and cleanness in the buildings and grounds. It is here that the training of the youth of the country should start. I directed that every inspecting



officer should make it a point to inspect and report on the sanitary equipment.

Mr. Jinnah came to Bangalore with his sister, Miss Jinnah, in May, 1941, to recuperate from illness, and they stayed for a fortnight as State guests at Nandidroog, a hill station thirty-five miles from Bangalore. Nandi is an ideal spot for rest and quiet. Mr. Gandhi, too, spent some time there in May, 1936.

On Mr. Jinnah's return from Nandi, we met at Kumara Park, the State guest-house, and had a talk on the question of Pakistan. I said that the main difference between his viewpoint and mine was that he wanted only Pakistan for the Muslims, while I wanted for them both Pakistan and India! At that time there was no idea of splitting up the Punjab or Bengal. My argument was that, under his scheme, he would have perhaps one-third of India, with little or no voice in the rest of the sub-continent. Under the scheme of provincial autonomy, however, the Muslims would be in virtual control of the Punjab, Bengal (with Calcutta, the second largest city in the Commonwealth, as its capital), Sind, the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, and they would have a fairly effective voice in the other provinces as well and especially at the centre. Mr. Jinnah's answer was that I should join the League and try to convert it to my view. Having been a bureaucrat all my life, I was, I said, ill-fitted for the role of a politician, and would find it quite impossible to go about haranguing the public and taking an active part in such a warfare.

Like all important States, Mysore was allotted a site in New Delhi for the construction of a palace for the use of the Maharaja when he visited Delhi. I was not in favour of spending a huge sum—something like Rs. 25 lakhs—on a palace which would be little used by His Highness, who seldom went to Delhi. The annual maintenance charges would have amounted to a considerable sum, not to speak of the difficulty in dealing with requests for the use of the house. We could make far better use of the money in the State itself, where so many public wants had to be satisfied. I consulted the late Sir John Thomson, who was then Chief Commissioner of Delhi, and he shared my opinion. The idea was abandoned and the site reverted to the Government of India. Maharaja Sayaji Rao III, Gaekwar of Baroda, the grand-

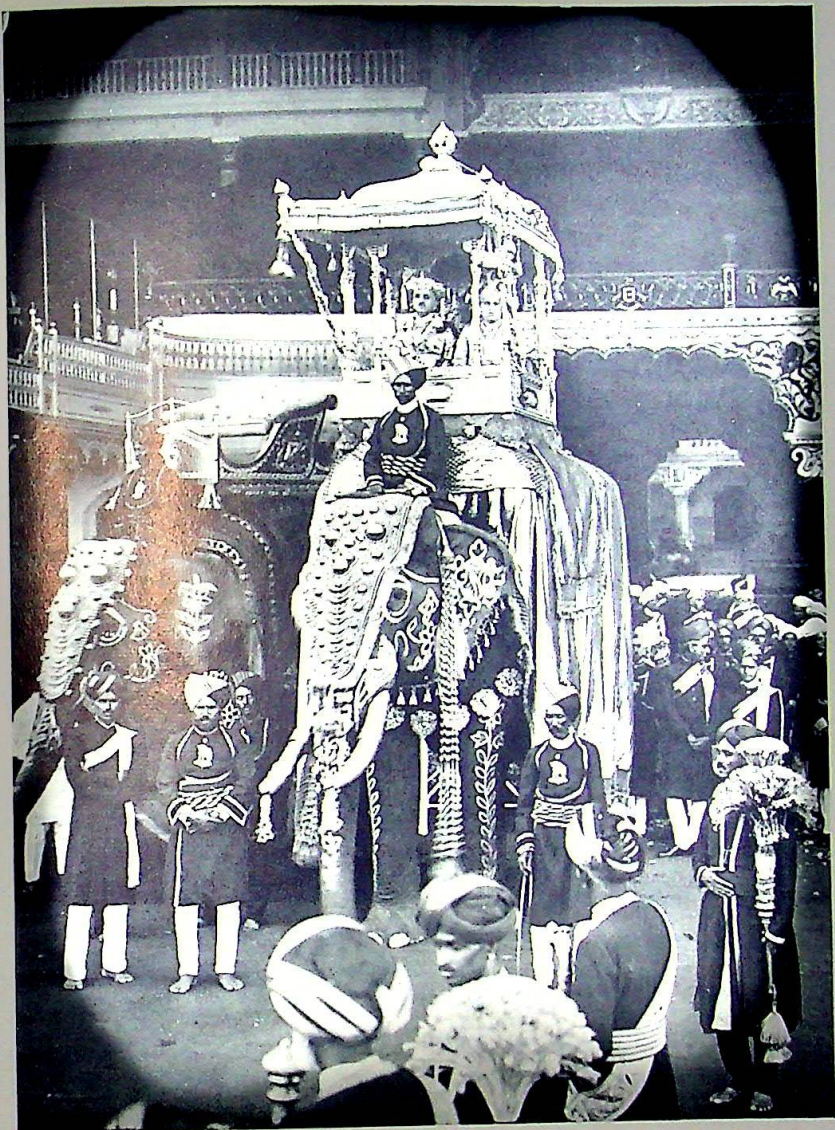


father of the last ruler of Baroda, advised me not to make the mistake he had made in constructing a palace in New Delhi: his, he said, had become a white elephant. His palace, he added, was at my Maharaja's disposal whenever he went to New Delhi. It is pathetic to see the fate that has overtaken these fine palaces. They are now being used as offices and present a dismal appearance instead of being an embellishment to the city.

During my fifteen years' administration of the State as Dewan, I was able to start, or helped to start, some twenty-five different industries, the most important being the manufacture of steel, cement, paper, sugar, chemical fertilizer, aircraft, glass, porcelain, agricultural implements, spun silk, electric bulbs and cast iron pipes. Coffee curing works were also established. Mysore produces 60 per cent of India's coffee. Some of the finest coffee in the world is grown on the Baba Budan range of hills, where coffee was first introduced from Mocha by a Muslim saint. Before the establishment of the curing works in the coffee district, Mysore coffee was sent to Mangalore for curing. The Mysore Coffee Curing Works are in a flourishing condition and a great help to the industry.

Two new hydro-electric stations were taken in hand, one at the Shimsha Falls and the other at the famous Jog Falls. I felt that it was not safe to depend on the one existing installation, that at Sivasamudram on the Cauvery. The Shimsha generating station was hurried through, and completed just before the beginning of the second world war. It was just in time, for a couple of years later the Sivasamudram station was struck by lightning and completely put out of action. But for the Shimsha station the water supplies of the cities of Bangalore and Mysore, and of the Kolar Gold Fields, would then have ceased, the cities and towns would have been plunged in darkness, and the gold mines would have stopped working, besides the numerous industrial works, such as the textile mills. The Shimsha station took over the load, and kept up the supply while the Sivasamudram station was being restored. This took some months. The Mysore Electrical Department, under the Chief Electrical Engineer, Mr. M. Hayath, rose to the occasion magnificently and restarted the station in almost record time, without any outside aid.





His late Highness and the present Maharaja in the howdah at the start of the Dasara procession.







The construction of the Irwin Canal was undertaken at a cost of Rs. 2½ crores. This canal irrigates more than 55,000 acres, and has made possible the establishment of the sugar factory at Mandya, which has brought prosperity to this once arid tract. Several other irrigation works too were undertaken, and are a great boon to the tracts which they serve.

My policy was not to concentrate many factories in one or two centres but to distribute them, as far as possible, all over the State, and in this way benefit many places. Another advantage was that in case of labour troubles the infection would not spread so easily to other industries.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya, late Chief Engineer, P.W.D. (India), became Dewan of Mysore, an office he held for six years with great distinction to himself and profit to the State. He had been responsible for the construction of the reservoir across the Cauvery eleven miles from Mysore City and five miles above Seringapatam at a cost of over Rs. 2 crores. Krishnaraj Sagar, as the lake is called, was at that time the biggest reservoir in India. The iron works at Bhadravati, also, owe their existence to him. These two works have been of enormous benefit to the State, and are a standing monument to his wisdom and foresight. There is much else for which Mysore is indebted to him.

The policy of the Union Government of eventually nationalizing all major industries is certain to hamper industrial progress. It is one thing for a Government to run a railway system and the telegraph and telephone departments and similar concerns which are of a monopolistic character, and quite another to undertake the permanent management of industrial concerns, which have to face world-competition, for experience has shown that government control and management are inevitably inefficient and expensive. This is not a wise or prudent policy for India. The Government has other important matters to attend to, and while it can be associated in the management of industries it should not assume direct control.

I had set before myself the ideal of a *truly* socialist state in Mysore. Explaining my policy in the course of my address to the Representative Assembly in 1936, I referred to the fact that the commercial enterprises we had embarked upon had laid us



open, in some quarters, to the charge of going too far in the direction of "state socialism." This criticism, I went on to say, was based on an entire misapprehension of the position. In the great countries of the West, like England, the field of industry and commerce was pre-eminently one for the private *entrepreneur*, and any undue incursion into his preserves was looked upon as a violation of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*. On the other hand, here in India, where private enterprise is proverbially unenterprising and private capital notoriously shy, Governments have, perforce, to take a more active and practical interest in the problems of trade and industry than by merely passing a legislative measure regulating the hours of work here or amending the company law there. Indeed, in the peculiar circumstances prevailing in this country, a certain amount of State socialism is necessary if the pace of industrialization is to be accelerated. But this policy is quite different from that of wholesale nationalization, and when a Government finds it desirable to assume temporary control of an industry its aim should be the encouragement of private investment and ultimate private control.

The administration took great pains to improve the villages, and our efforts were not altogether unsuccessful, as may, perhaps, be seen from the following letter which I was gratified to get from the Resident, Colonel C. T. C. Plowden, one of the best Residents we ever had in Mysore. October 16, 1934:

Last night at dinner with General Fleming I met Major-General S. B. Pope, whom I knew many years ago when we were both serving in Frontier Force regiments. This is his first visit to Mysore. He asked me, entirely of his own accord, to convey to you the following message, namely, that, during all the years he has been in India, nothing has impressed him more than the steps which the Mysore Government have taken to improve the conditions of life in the villages. He was so impressed by what he saw during his stay here that he specially asked me to convey this message to you.

A small, but interesting, part of Mysore's history was enacted in London—at the annual Mysore Birthday Dinner, which was first held on June 23, 1934, the fiftieth birthday of the late Maharaja. The last was in 1938: the war made an end of such functions. These dinners served as a reunion of Englishmen who



had served in Mysore, whether as officers of the State or as representatives of the Crown, and also brought together prominent Englishmen and Indians, and leading statesmen of the Empire. The Presidents were Sir Basil Blackett, Lord Goschen, Sir Harcourt Butler, Lord Willingdon and Lord Lothian.

Mysore was the first Indian State to have a Trade Commissioner in London. His chief duty was to sell at as high a price as he could that wonderful product of Mysore, sandalwood oil, which is used in soapmaking, in perfumery and in medicine. Mysore is the largest producer of this oil in India. He was also the purchasing agent for Mysore in England. On the integration of the State with the Indian Union his duties were taken over by the High Commissioner for India.

The high repute of the administrative tradition in Mysore made the State a training-ground for young princes. The Political Department used to send them to us regularly. Travancore, Gwalior and Nagode were among the States whose princes profited by administrative training in Mysore.



*The Attractions of Mysore*

I REMEMBER the late Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar telling me what a high British officer, whom he had just met, thought of Mysore. If he was asked, he said, to select 30,000 square miles of the most attractive part of India, his choice would most certainly fall on the State of Mysore. I am sure this was no exaggeration. Those who have travelled the world over agree that this is one of the fairest lands in the world, full of Nature's loveliness, delectable in climate, rich in resources, rich, above all, in patient and kindly human character, a land fit for the devotion of true men.

In the course of a broadcast on Mysore, on the Madras Radio (August 5, 1938), I said:

A French historian wrote, as long ago as the year 1800: "The plains of Mysore afford the most beautiful habitation that nature has to offer to mankind upon the earth."

For those who to their misfortune cannot visit Mysore, let me quote the description of an old friend of the State—Sir William Barton. "The country itself is full of charm, a land that lotus-eaters would delight to make their own. The main feature is a series of uplands with an average elevation of 2,000 feet above the sea. The climate has a languorous warmth in summer; in winter endless sunshine with a tinge of chilliness that is almost bracing. Westward, the plateau is flanked by the Ghauts and their outlying buttresses, like the Baba Budan Hills, where the coffee estates of British planters have invaded the forest. To the south is the great mountain mass of the Nilgiris. The scenery is diversified by great excrescences of Deccan trap, steep ridges of rock and huge isolated hills, known locally as droogs, many of them crowned with ancient forts. In the south-west and west are magnificent forests, the haunt of the bison, the elephant and the tiger. The great river Cauvery, rising in the Ghauts, flows through the State. At the point where it flings itself off the highlands into the



plains of Madras, its force is impressed into the service of man to produce electric current to light the great towns, and to mine gold from quartz, a mile or more below the surface of the earth, at Kolar, a hundred miles away.

"Temple architecture bears witness to the culture of the ancient kingdoms. There are noble buildings of different styles and periods almost everywhere. The best known are the Hindu sanctuaries at Halebid and Belur. The colossal image, 57 feet high, of the Jain apostle, Gomata, carved from the solid rock of a high ridge, towers over the countryside at Sravanabelagola. It dates from the tenth century. The palaces, gardens and broken battlements of Tipu Sultan's capital at Seringapatam recall memories of a decisive event in Indian history. A recent visitor has said of the Belur temple: 'It is doubtful if there is to be found, anywhere in the world, a building of similar surface area whose carvings can approach for sheer elaboration, delicacy and expenditure of human labour, the 700-year-old temple at Belur.'"

Let us now turn to the materials of trade and enterprise. In respect of raw materials Mysore is one of the most favoured of countries. Of minerals she can offer you gold, silver, copper, iron, graphite, chromite, magnesite, monasite, ferruginous bauxite, soap-stone, mica and manganese, galena and corundum; porphyry and felspar, and a host of others.

Of timber she can give you varieties of teak, rosewood, blackwood and ironwood; ebony, silk cotton and Indian satinwood; Indian kino, Indian mahogany, Indian beech and Indian laburnum; and Ceylon oak and Chittagong wood.

Her crops include wheat, rice, ragi and cholam; coffee, sugar-cane, cotton, tobacco; gingelly, groundnut, coconut, castor; pepper, ginger, turmeric and arecanut.

Of fruits and vegetables there is hardly anything to which you cannot aspire. Mysore produces peaches, apples and oranges; grapes, mangoes, papayas and plantains; figs, limes, star gooseberries, strawberries and raspberries; beans, brinjals and amaranth in every known variety; potatoes and onions by the ton, and a large proportion of the vegetables of all kinds that furnish the dinner tables of Madras.

Added to this we have every facility for manufacture. The rivers give an abundant water supply, and they and the great chain of tanks give a humidity of atmosphere that is said by experts to be exactly what is required for textile processes. We have a railway system comprising 700 odd miles of line, 4,200 miles of metalled road, large parts of which are now treated with tar or with molasses, and 2,700 miles of



other road. Electricity is laid on in the remotest corner of the State, and power for industries supplied at the rate of 9 pies (less than a penny) per unit. The telephone system is already widespread and is expanding with great rapidity. There is an industrious and intelligent peasantry, who have proved capable of adapting themselves to industrial processes.

Nor have the people and the Government of Mysore been behind-hand in utilizing the great gifts of nature. We have mines of gold, iron, manganese and chrome. There are several textile factories making piecegoods, hosiery, suitings, silk, gold-thread and woollen goods. Other factories manufacture soaps, sugar, cement, and paper. Sandal oil is another big industry in which the State specializes. Another group of factories produces chemicals and fertilizers, drugs and medicines; another, bakelite articles, stone-ware, lacquer-ware and toys. There is a promising industry in Virginia tobacco. For the benefit largely of our own electrical works we have factories for making porcelain insulators, transformers, batteries, switches and other electrical goods.

We are very proud of the products of these factories, and at the risk of being called provincial, try to set before all true Mysoreans the ideal that they should wash themselves with Mysore soap, dry themselves with Mysore towels, clothe themselves in Mysore silks, ride Mysore horses, eat the abundant Mysore food, drink Mysore coffee with Mysore sugar, equip their houses with Mysore furniture, light them with Mysore lamps and write their letters on Mysore paper. The State industries are all displayed, as in a shop front, on the occasion of the Exhibition that is held in Mysore city every Dasara, and we welcome all friends from Madras who will come and take stalls in that Exhibition to display their own goods, and still more do we welcome those who visit the city for the Dasara and spend their money on the Mysore goods that they find exhibited for sale.

Let us see what Mysore has to offer for the tourist and the visitor. Besides the holy places and places of pilgrimage already mentioned, there are many others whose names are well known, such as Sringeri, Melkote, Talkad, which is now making its preparations for a giant pilgrimage, Nanjangud, Dattatreyaapeetha, the famous shrine where Hindus and Mohammedans both worship, Tirthahalli, Dornahalli, and Viduraswatha, with its famous peepul tree of Vidura. There are ancient capitals, famous battlefields, edicts of Asoka and monuments of the Hoysalas, and there is hardly one of the many hilltops in the State that does not carry a fort or a temple.



We have at Gersoppa one of the highest waterfalls in the world, with a drop of 930 feet. It is certainly also one of the most picturesque of waterfalls, just as the Sivasamudram waterfall is one of the most useful, since it furnishes electric power for a great part of the State.

Last of all, we have in Mysore City, at the Dasara season, a pageant which a recent writer describes as embodying "scenes of almost indescribable magnificence, scenes which might be taken from the pages of an Arabian Nights' Tale." Let me quote a little further from that description. "The Palace, an exquisite example of architecture, is entirely outlined with myriads of tiny electric lights, one red lamp glowing on the golden dome to signify the presence of His Highness in the Palace. The huge Durbar Hall, blazing with light and a thousand colours, is open on one side to the courtyard below, where vast crowds of Mysoreans wait to see their ruler take his seat on the historical Lion Throne. The tenth is the day of days, when the famous state procession to the Banni Mantap parade ground takes place. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the royal salute of 21 guns thunders from the Palace, followed by a blare of trumpets and the impressive strains of the Mysore national anthem. The great march has begun. All Mysore is there. Townsman and peasant, all dressed in their colourful best, stand in a dense throng along the route, eager to do homage to their Maharaja. His Highness leaves the Palace for the first time during Dasara. He is preceded by the famous Mysore Cavalry and Household Troops, drum and fife bands, infantry, state coaches, camel carts, officials riding in huge elephant carriages, and many elephants. Altogether there is nearly a mile of impressive pageant. After the procession has reached the Banni Mantap, and the special religious ceremonies have taken place, His Highness appears at nightfall on a splendid white charger, ready to review his troops. Hundreds of lamps overhead cast their dazzling light on the scene, as the Maharaja rides past his regiments and then takes the salute as they march past the saluting base with bands playing. His Highness then returns to his Palace with his troops in the glittering torchlight procession, illuminated by electric lights, flaring oil torches, and thousands of fireworks."

And, in order that her visitors may enjoy her beauty and pageantry to the full, Mysore does her best to make them comfortable. There are excellent hotels, both at Bangalore and Mysore. For those who seek a retreat far from the madding crowd, there are delightful bungalows at the top of Nandidroog, fully furnished and fitted with electric lights. There are others, as at Krishnaraj Sagar, Hassan, Jog Falls and Sivasamudram, which are fully equipped and staffed, so that the visitor need



take no more than his bedding with him, and, thanks to the staging arrangements of our ancestors, there are other bungalows every few miles along the main roads, at which accommodation is provided for those who carry a full supply of bedding and are content with a picnic meal.

For the sportsman I quote from an article by that distinguished shikari, Major Phythian Adams.—“Mysore is the fortunate possessor of a fauna so diverse and varied that few other parts of India can equal it. The extensive open plains of the north are the home of numerous herds of black buck, which extend more or less over all cultivated areas of the State; the more broken country holds chinkara and wolves, while nilgai, though uncommon, are still reported to exist in certain parts. The forests contain herds of elephant and bison, and a good herd of sambhur and spotted deer, while lesser fry, barking deer, wild pig, etc., are common in suitable localities. The State contains some famous tiger grounds, and panthers are ubiquitous, though hunting leopards are probably now extinct. Bears are fairly common in certain parts and wild dogs even more so. The list of indigenous small game includes the great Indian bustard, florican, peafowl, jungle and spurfowl, partridge, sandgrouse (two or more varieties), several species of quail, green, bluerock and imperial pigeons, and the Indian hare, to which must be added in the cold weather countless numbers of snipe, duck and teal and some bas-headed geese, which find rich subsistence in the paddy fields and on the irrigation tanks with which the State is so well provided. Apart from game birds, Mysore is particularly rich in bird life, both resident and migrant.”

In addition to the comfortable bungalow at Bāndipur, which adjoins the Madras game sanctuary at Mudamalai, Mysore has long had a game sanctuary of her own in charming surroundings in the Chamarajanagar Taluk.

As for other forms of sport, there are two important race meetings every year, at Mysore and Bangalore, at which latter place there was until 1928 an excellent pack of hounds. There are tournaments open to any club in India in cricket, football, hockey and tennis, during the Birthday and Dasara festivities in Mysore and at other times of the year in Bangalore. There is mahseer fishing in the rivers, and for devotees of sailing, of whom there are so many in Madras, there are excellent clubs at Bethamangala and Hessarghatta, and vast waters waiting navigation at Krishnaraj Sagar and the Vani Vilas Sagar.

For those whose taste lies in horticulture there are attractions equalled in very few places in India. The combination of an equable





The Brindavan Gardens, Mysore, with 125 ft. fountain in the middle of the River Cauvery.







climate all the year round with a good soil and a plentiful water supply makes it possible to grow plants of the tropical and temperate zones side by side and in almost any season of the year. Forty years ago it was written that there had been established 258 varieties of roses, 160 kinds of ferns, 122 crotons, to say nothing of an endless number of flowering shrubs, brilliant foliage plants, gay annuals and gorgeous-blossomed creepers and orchids. Since then these numbers have been largely increased, and there has been much work done in hybridizing and cross-breeding, with the result that the name of Mysore, or those of persons connected with Mysore, are to be found attached, for instance, to varieties of bougainvillea that are now all over the world.

And now, faithful to my scheme of describing the places that I love in the words of other writers, let me give you a modern journalist's view of the great new gardens at Brindavan (11 miles from Mysore City), which attract 200,000 visitors or more every year:

"Brindavan, seen by day, is a fascinating garden. It is approached by an excellent motor road leading to a pavilion. There the visitor sees the terrain fall away in a series of terraces to the river-bed and rise again similarly on the other side. Each terrace is divided across by a wide strip of water in which fountains continuously play. Vertically, from topmost pavilion to river-bed, yet another strip of water begins with a miniature waterfall, and there is a 'race' from one terrace to the next. Flower-beds and trim box edges border lush lawns. The whole terrain on each flank is fringed by a sweep of tall trees.

"From dawn to dusk every nuance of Nature's light and shade is caught up and reflected in the unfolding waters which stretch below. When darkness comes, as by some touch of a magic wand, they begin to spray newels of liquid light, each fountain being given an individuality all its own.

"So the enchanted eye is led onward, downward, to the river's edge, softly aglow with half-concealed and half-revealed light. And there in the river's centre, rising a sheer 150 feet, is a tower of water which the wind claims for its own sport, whirling its drift in strangely attractive designs. On the far bank glowing fountains lead up to a flood-lit arch which has the effective outer darkness for foil."

For the educationist it may suffice to say that we educated, not only the first lady to take a degree in any Indian University, but also Mr. C. Rajagopalachari!

I have kept the greatest asset of this fortunate State to the last. I refer to its wise, noble and benign Ruler, Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar.



Here, however, I end the quotation from my broadcast, since His late Highness is the subject of a separate chapter.

I made it a rule to invite all-India leaders and other distinguished persons to visit Mysore and see for themselves what the administration was trying to do for the good of the people. One of those I invited was the highly influential Mahratta leader, N. C. Kelkar, editor of the Poona nationalist papers, *The Mahratta* and *Kesari*. He came in November, 1937, and after touring various parts of the State for three weeks, he wrote:

The days I spent in the Mysore State will live in my memory to the last days of my life. Very few States in India have, I think, so much as Mysore to their credit in point of the gifts of nature, and what is more, the thoughtful use made of them for the benefit of the ryot.

Your invitation to me to visit Mysore has enabled me to see one of the most well-planned garden cities in India, some of the most beautiful scenery of nature, a pattern of well-organized, methodical and beneficent state administration, and above all the almost unique example of the popularity and reverence in which a state ruler can be unanimously cherished by his subjects.

I met Motilal Nehru, father of India's Prime Minister, for the first and last time when he came to Mysore in August, 1937. It was on some festive occasion. He was so thrilled with the illumination, and the general appearance of the city, that he told me that he would not be happy until he brought his family and showed them Mysore. This, alas, he did not live to do.



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*Communal Harmony in Mysore*

IN a vast and heterogeneous country like India, it is inevitable and right that patriotism, which manifests itself in increasing measure with the growth of political consciousness, should include a special allegiance to, and love for, one's own particular territory, religion, or language. There is the danger, however, that we may allow this to distort our perspective and limit our sympathy, and it may even degenerate into active antagonism to others. I believe that there is ample room in this spacious land of ours for all our languages, creeds and cultures to flourish in amity. India would not be half as interesting without such variety.

There is always, however, the possibility of internal strife—antagonism not only between Hindus and Muslims, but also between north and south, between one State and another, and between the various castes and sub-castes among the Hindus themselves. Communalism and provincialism are ever-present dangers. The Brahmin and non-Brahmin feud in the south was very acute some years ago. It has fortunately subsided with the advent of independence and the upsurge of nationalist feeling, but it has by no means disappeared. The Tamils and the Andhras are not now as friendly as before, nor are the Mahrattas and the Gujaratis in Western India. The Sikhs have their own grievances, and the States of Bengal and Bihar their differences.

In my official career, I never deviated from my rule of treating all communities alike and furthering their interests in every way I could, so that they would always count upon me, as indeed they did. When I was appointed Huzur Secretary at the Palace, I assured His Highness that I would see to it that neither the *vaidiks*<sup>1</sup> nor the temple authorities would feel the absence of my Brahmin predecessor.

<sup>1</sup> *Vaidiks*—Brahmin priests.



I was able to do much for the Sanskrit College at Mysore, an institution which was managed by the Palace and was, therefore, directly under my control. It was reserved exclusively for the students of the Brahmin community, and they acquired the ancient learning by the old orthodox methods. As was to be expected, there was strong opposition to the reservation of a public institution, maintained from public revenues, for the benefit of a single community. While sympathizing with this point of view in principle, I was not in favour of throwing open the college to non-Brahmin students. I felt that this would destroy the peculiar orthodox atmosphere of this institution and convert it into an ordinary Sanskrit college. I therefore suggested to the Representative Assembly that the Sanskrit College in Bangalore might be open to all Hindu students, but that in Mysore might still be reserved for those of the Brahmin community. The Assembly approved of the compromise, and the Mysore College was saved from further attack. It is difficult to say how long under the new dispensation it will continue to enjoy this immunity. But I hope it will be left alone.

Sanskrit has, at all times, received special attention in Mysore. The Maharajas of Mysore took the keenest interest in Sanskrit and its savants. Sanskrit is called a "dead" language, but in another and more real sense it is very much alive to-day. Is it not still sustaining and enriching many a living Indian language from its vast storehouse of literature? And even the illiterate villagers greatly enjoy the readings from the ancient Sanskrit books. One cannot contemplate with equanimity, though happily such an eventuality is improbable, the divorce of Sanskrit from the everyday life of the masses as with Latin and Greek in Europe. A light would have gone from the life of the people, and the distinctive features of Hindu civilization and culture which have won for it an honoured place in world thought would soon be effaced from the life of the community, to the great disadvantage of India and the world.

It was my privilege to promote Sanskrit learning in every possible way, both while I was in the Palace and later as head of the administration. The Pandits have for their part more than rewarded me for whatever service I may have rendered to them



and to their sacred language. They, as a body, stood by me through good report and evil. They never for a moment misunderstood my intentions, and always felt sure that I was a well-wisher of their class. Even to this day, over a decade after my retirement from Mysore service, I am constantly receiving tokens of their goodwill. Their Holinesses the Jagadguru of Sringeri, the Parakalaswami of Mysore and the Lingayet Jagadguru of the Murugi Mutt<sup>1</sup> at Chitaldrug were extraordinarily kind. The agent of the Sringeri Mutt could account for my zeal for Sanskrit only by imputing to me a previous birth as a Brahmin!

I realized that I was serving a Hindu State and a Maharaja who was the embodiment of all that is best in Hindu religion and culture. It was not a matter of surprise, therefore, if I was so wholeheartedly with my Hindu fellow-countrymen in the service of their religion and culture. I felt that one pleases the Almighty even more by serving other faiths than one's own. Paradoxical as that may sound, I believe it is, nevertheless, true, for to serve other faiths calls for something more vital than passive tolerance. My own experience of life has taught me that religion is no barrier to true friendship. Some of my dearest friends are, and have been, non-Muslims. It makes little difference what a man calls himself—Hindu, Christian or Muslim. What counts is what he is, as I have often said when addressing students in colleges, and reminded them—"One is your Father, all ye are brethren. Therefore, let us love one another, even as God loves us all."

In referring to this attitude towards other religions, Dr. J. R. Mott, Head of the Y.M.C.A., was good enough to say (January 2, 1937):—

The night before I left England on my way to India, I was the guest of His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang) at Lambeth Palace. When he learned that I was coming out to India, he remarked to me, "I have a new friend out there, one I hope you may see, Sir Mirza Ismail."

It has meant much to me to be thought of as a kindred spirit by such great Christian leaders.

<sup>1</sup> *Mutt*—a religious organization under a spiritual head.



I was not a great believer in temple entry, by legislation, for the Harijans (the depressed classes). In Mysore State we experienced no difficulty in this matter. The Harijans were not prohibited from going into the temple courtyard and worshipping the deity from outside, as most other Hindus did. Farther south, the position was more difficult, but even there the reform could have been effected more gently and gradually, without hurting the feelings of orthodox people.

We had for some years as the Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University a most learned man, Dr. (later Sir) Brajendranath Seal. He was a remarkable man in many ways, a profound scholar and a man of encyclopaedic knowledge. There was hardly a subject in which he could not hold his own. He conducted the affairs of the University for several years with great success but retired owing to failing health. In one of his last letters, dated the 26th March, 1930, he wrote from Calcutta:

It gives me much pleasure to get a few lines from you in my present condition. I am better now and my thoughts always fly to Mysore. How I long to speak to you of the new thoughts and experiences which crowd upon me in my last days! Life and the world have other values for me now, and I judge all things in the light of eternity. Still, human history grows with a sense of sweetness upon me as I am going to bid it farewell, and in that history a few friends, and you among the foremost, loom in my vision even as the world is fading away.

The Twenty-first World Conference of the Student Christian Association was held at Mysore on January 2, 1937. This Conference, the first ever held in Asia, was attended by delegates from over thirty countries, including representatives of the World's Young Women's Christian Association, the League of Nations, the International Labour Conference and the International Missionary Conference. In a speech declaring the Conference open, the Maharaja said:

I am proud that you should have chosen the State of Mysore for the meeting of your world-wide fellowship, and I am proud to welcome distinguished representatives of so many races and languages, I might almost say, of so many worlds. For, I take it, you are worlds apart, at least in the starting-points from which you have reached your



common goal. In your origins are to be found the strongest contrasts of brilliant inspiration and unwearying research, of stolid fatalism and feverish activity, of blind acceptance and obstinate questioning.

While the paths are different by which you and we, in Mysore, seek to reach the common goal of the ultimate Truth, I would fain believe that they are not so divergent as might at first sight appear. In his very interesting account of the origin and achievements of the Federation, writing in 1920, Dr. Mott said of it: "It stands, not for the oneness of uniformity, but for unity in diversity." Unity in diversity is exactly the ideal that I have many times commended to the people of the diverse castes and creeds of Mysore.



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*Amenities in Town and Country*

ADMINISTRATIONS in India, with hardly any exception, have taken little or no interest in the improvement of their cities and towns; the villages, of course, need hardly be mentioned. What a contrast this offers to what one sees in England! It is a joy to see the clean, well-kept roads, the tidy gardens and trimmed hedges. Look at the great open spaces in crowded London—or in Paris. How many cities in India can boast of such parks? Nor have we got small parks where the citizen can take a little rest. The municipalities are apt to spend their income, not on sanitation and the necessary amenities of life, but on educational institutions which it is the duty of the States' Governments to provide. Public parks and private gardens may not be the most important amenities, but they are necessary to a full and happy life. The beautification of our towns and cities must be a continuous process. The municipality need not be afraid of spending a portion of its income in making its town more attractive both to the citizens and to visitors. Slum clearance and the housing of the poor must go on *pari passu* with the beautification schemes; they are inseparable. But unfortunately, just as nature abhors a vacuum, so do our municipalities abhor open spaces. They are not satisfied until all are built upon.

Let me give a specific instance of what I have in mind. When I paid a visit to Madras in April, 1952, I was shocked to see how the fine grounds of the old Government House on Mount Road had been not merely neglected but positively misused. This extensive area, situated in the very heart of a big city, could even now easily be converted into an attractive park. But buildings, big and small, have been allowed to grow up anyhow. The new Assembly building, which has cost the rate-payer some Rs. 10 lakhs, is placed cheek by jowl with the old Government





The Mysore Palace illuminated.



Entrance to the Palace, Mysore.







House, instead of facing and adorning the most important road in the city; and the building is itself an example of the ugliness that has taken root in the official architectural mind. A good opportunity of improving this part of the city has thus been lost, but it is to be hoped that this process will not be allowed to continue. Madras would do well to seek the advice of a competent town planner, and a landscape gardener.

A difficult decision had to be made by the Maharaja as to whether the numerous houses, most of them belonging to his own relations, within the Mysore Fort enclave, were to be allowed to remain or to be acquired and demolished. The fate of the house in which his own mother was born and brought up was involved. The total area of the Fort is barely 100 acres, and houses, big and small, were huddled together, forming an untidy mass, in close proximity to the Palace. The acquisition of all these properties meant an expenditure of some Rs. 13 to 15 lakhs, by no means a small sum in those days. I was, however, in favour of this, while many were opposed to it. The Maharaja asked the Dewan, his maternal uncle, Sir Kantaraj Urs, who owned one of the houses, and R. H. Campbell, his Private Secretary, to advise him jointly on the matter. They decided in favour of the *status quo*. Economy in the case of the Dewan, sentiment in that of Kantaraj Urs, and conservatism and peace in that of Campbell, were doubtless the considerations that influenced them.

Just about this time, Mr. (afterwards Sir Patrick) Geddes, who had made a name for himself as a town planner, appeared on the scene. I consulted him, expecting that he would suggest the clearing of the area, but he, more than anyone else, was emphatically against such a proposal. He used some very poetic language, as was his wont, in giving his reasons—how wonderful it was to see the Ruler living in the midst of his people, his Palace towering above their dwellings and sheltering them, and so on. He was most eloquent in describing the beauty of the existing state of things. This was another and a serious obstacle in my way. But His Highness decided at last in favour of acquisition—a wise and courageous decision it was, and typical of him. “How few mistakes he makes!” Campbell used to say of him.



I happened to meet Geddes a couple of years later in Baroda. He asked me how the question was finally decided. I told him that the houses had all, or nearly all, gone. It was a great disappointment to him to hear this. "I knew the spirit of destruction was abroad," he said. Looking at the question from this distance of time, no one would, for a moment, suggest that the decision to get rid of the private houses was wrong. Indeed, it would have been a grave error if they had been allowed to remain. Those whose properties were acquired built better houses in far better localities, and were quite pleased with the authorities and with themselves. Kantaraj Urs devoted to a charitable purpose the entire amount he got as compensation, amounting to over a lakh of rupees.

A prominent politician from Bombay visited Bangalore and Mysore during a Congress non-co-operation agitation and gave us much trouble. He excited the students and others to such an extent that the police had to open fire to control the unruly crowds. He criticized, in the strongest possible terms, everything the Government of Mysore did. Constructive criticism is scarce, because it implies thoughtfulness and goodwill, such as this visitor lacked. Destructive criticism is common because it is so easy. The visitor did not like Mysore City—its beauty and its cleanliness, its parks and its lights. They seemed to have offended his eye. Nor was he pleased with the sight of the vast crowd gathered for the Dasara festival. They appeared to him hungry: the Government could only feed them on "beauty." He did not realize what a tremendous economic gain—leave alone the political, religious and festive aspects of it—the Dasara festival was to the State, and particularly to Mysore City. It attracted annually a large influx of visitors—at least 150,000 to 200,000 came from the State and outside. Assuming (and it is a moderate assumption) that each visitor on the average spent Rs. 10/- to Rs. 15/- during the five or six days he stayed in the city, it earned Rs. 15 to 20 lakhs every year, and what was the expenditure incurred by the Government? Scarcely Rs. 5,000/-. Mysore City would not thus have benefited if it was not made so attractive and if the festivities were not held on such a grand scale.

The cultivation of Ganjam figs may seem a small matter and



hardly worth mention, but even so small a project can be productive of much good. The name is that of a suburb of Seringapatam, the capital of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, which in their time had a reputed population of half a million. Seringapatam is now a comparatively insignificant village, most of its inhabitants having moved to Mysore City, only eight miles away, or elsewhere. Ganjam has now no more than a hundred houses, mostly of mud. It was well known, even in Tipu Sultan's days, for the figs it produced. The inhabitants used to grow them in the sheltered backyards of their houses.

I found that the fig cultivation had all but vanished, and both Seringapatam and Ganjam were languishing owing to the prevalence of malaria. It must have been endemic in Tipu's days, too. The British garrison stationed there on the fall of Tipu Sultan suffered heavy mortality from both malaria and cholera, as is evident from the inscriptions on the tombstones in the cemeteries. For that reason after a couple of years the garrison was moved away to Bangalore. Thanks to D.D.T., malaria has now been overcome. A protected water supply was also provided and at once a perceptible improvement in public health took place.

The fig gardens were suffering for want of water. The village is quite close to the river, but the difficulty was to raise the water to the gardens. Fortunately, electric power was at hand, and it was arranged to pump water from the river and supply it to the gardens at a reasonable rate. The administration afforded other facilities, such as a co-operative sales society and permission to sell the fruits to passengers at the railway station without payment of a fee. In this way, a new atmosphere was created and the growers began to prosper. I visited the village each time I went to Mysore, which was at least once a month. It was a pleasure to see how happy the people were.

The Rev. C. F. Andrews, so well known and respected in India for his devoted labours in her cause, happened to visit Mysore on a festive occasion. He remarked that while he was greatly impressed with the illuminations and much else that he witnessed in Mysore, what pleased him most was the fig cultivation at Ganjam, and the happy faces and the fruit-laden trees he



saw there. When I went there a year ago, it was a great shock to me to see the place slipping back to its former state.

We in India, I fear, are prone to concentrate attention on spectacular schemes to the neglect of less ambitious things which might be of more direct benefit to the country. For example, several huge irrigation works have recently been started at a staggering cost, but sufficient attention is not being paid to the minor irrigation works which would yield a quick return at a comparatively small cost. These works require close attention and constant effort on the part of the administration and are, therefore, apt to be neglected, while a big irrigation project appeals to the imagination and is taken up with alacrity.

It takes years to construct a big dam and to bring the land below it under cultivation. The Krishnaraj Sagar (Lake), in Mysore State, was completed in 1932. It was to irrigate 125,000 acres. Even to this day, so many years after the completion of the dam, only 85,000 acres are under cultivation, because of the many practical difficulties that have to be overcome before water can be supplied and the land got ready for cultivation.

That major irrigation and power projects are a necessity in India, I would be the last to deny, but I do maintain that Government should not neglect the minor irrigation works which can give an almost immediate return. If a State can afford to do both at the same time, let it, by all means, but how many States are there which have resources, in men and money, sufficient for such a programme? The question is—are we making the best possible use of the limited resources at our disposal? Moreover, let us not overlook the fact that huge projects are embarked upon with a haste that makes one wonder if costly mistakes are not being committed in the designing and execution of these works.

The Maharani of Bajang and her husband, who had made their home in Bangalore, were very popular figures in the social life of the city. She was a most kind-hearted and charming lady. She came to me one day and said that she had a request to make. She was worried about the future of her favourite parrot—what would happen to it when she was no more? She asked me if I would undertake to provide it with a home in the Lal Bagh (the



Botanical Gardens, where some birds are kept), and said she would give me Rs. 5,000/- (about £400) to meet the cost of looking after it. I said I could easily promise that the parrot would be well looked after in the Lal Bagh, but I might be able to suggest to her a better way of making use of the money. Thinking over the matter, I thought of a fairy fountain, which Bangalore lacked. I made this suggestion to her and she readily agreed. I started constructing one, and, running short of funds, I asked her to give me Rs. 3,000/- more. She gave that, too. With a grant from the State, the fountain was completed and a stone tablet was put up commemorating the donor's name. The Maharani was very happy that her money had been turned to such good account. This is the genesis of the famous fountain in Cubbon Park. After all this, the Maharani took the parrot away to Bombay. She died there, and nobody knows what happened to the bird to which we owe this lovely fountain.

It was with no small satisfaction that I took the Maharani's brother, H.H. Maharaja Sir Mohun Shamshere Jung Bahadur Rana, the former Prime Minister of Nepal, to show him his sister's gift to Bangalore. By a curious coincidence, the Maharaja and two of his brothers, General Sir Babar Shamshere Jung Bahadur Rana, the former Defence Minister and Commander-in-Chief, and Sir Krishna Shamshere Jung Bahadur Rana, have taken up residence in this city where their sister spent so many happy years. They are here in self-imposed exile after the revolutionary changes that took place in their hitherto peaceful State. It seems a pity that men who had a real stake in the country, and whose family were in control of it for generations, should have had to abandon it so suddenly, leaving it in the hands of inexperienced administrators. Nepal is now in a condition not far removed from chaos, with little hope of improvement unless all its leaders, foremost among them these Rana brothers, join hands to evolve a suitable constitution and work it in a truly selfless and patriotic spirit. Otherwise, matters are likely to drift from bad to worse, jeopardizing the very existence of Nepal as an independent country.

The Marquess of Lothian was delighted with the fountain and thought that it was the most beautiful he had seen anywhere.



Perhaps its most attractive feature—apart from the usual lighting effects—is that it can be manipulated to play in different combinations by means of a valve arrangement. As far as I know, there is no fountain anywhere else like this one. Thousands gather round it, particularly on Sunday evenings, and derive, as one can see, great pleasure from watching it.

It is to my mind obligatory for the administration to provide for the recreation and enjoyment of the people, especially the poorer classes, and enable them to enjoy themselves without expense. I have tried to do this wherever I could—in Mysore, Jaipur and Hyderabad.

I must refer again to Lord Lothian. I asked him if he would care to visit the Mental Hospital, which had just been built. He was horrified at the suggestion, and said that was the last place he wanted to visit. I succeeded, however, in persuading him just to have a look at it, even if from a distance. He went, and was so impressed that he said that it was a picnic place, not a hospital. When Professor Edward Mapother, Superintendent of the Maudsley Hospital, London, and Emeritus Professor of Psychiatry, London University, visited the institution with a view to formulating proposals for a mental hospital in Ceylon, he described the institution as “a monument to the vision and wisdom of all those responsible for the care of mental defectives in the East. This institution is almost unique among mental hospitals in India. The Government of Mysore seem to realize that it is not merely humane but economical to deal with mental patients at a stage when they are suffering from a partially curable form of illness rather than to delay, and segregate them when they are intolerably a social nuisance. It is quite evident that modern methods of diagnosis and treatment are available and freely used.” I hope that the Government of Mysore will complete the buildings and duly equip and maintain them.

I was anxious that even the factories owned by the Government should present a tidy appearance, and should have, when possible, gardens of their own. This may sound an expensive luxury, but it is not so in fact. To maintain the grounds properly, and to plant and look after some shady flowering trees, costs little but yields much in the effect it has on the minds of the people working



in the factories. I extended this policy of tree-planting to schools and hospitals, in fact to all Government institutions. In schools and colleges, I tried to have a label attached to each tree, giving its common and botanical names. In this way, unobtrusively and agreeably, the students might become interested in trees, besides receiving much-needed shade.

A simple and inexpensive way in which I practised "adult education" was to hang mirrors in public offices and hospitals, particularly in rural areas, where such things are not usually seen. I thought that if the villager could see his own face, he would not only be amused but would take an interest in it and try to keep it clean.

Mysore was the first State in India to supply electric power to rural areas. In 1926, Bangalore, Mysore and the Kolar Gold Fields were the only places in the State which had the benefit of electricity. It was considered a luxury, suitable only for important places. Feeling that this was neither right nor righteous, I launched a scheme of electrification of villages, and by 1940 nearly 180 villages had been supplied with power. The war held up the programme, but it was pushed forward again afterwards, and now over five hundred villages in the State enjoy this blessing. When the scheme was launched there was, as usual, any amount of criticism. But Madras soon followed Mysore's example, and no one now doubts the wisdom of this policy.

Another practical step which I took, in improving amenities, was to build bus stations. I began in 1940 with a large one in the City of Bangalore, as a counterpart of the railway station, the idea being that all buses going outside the municipal limits should start from a central place. Restaurants and public conveniences were to be provided. Similar bus stations, on a smaller scale, were to be started in all towns and important villages on bus routes. The station was to have a restaurant, and the income from the rental would ordinarily suffice to provide for latrines and washing-rooms for men and women passengers, who are obliged to travel long distances in overcrowded buses. The washing-rooms would have the inevitable mirror—and in addition, some soap, to familiarize the villager with the use of it. What does the passenger do now? He can get no refreshment



of any sort, not even drinking water, and there are no "conveniences."

The Bangalore bus station was unique in India. It cost Rs. 1,30,000/-, but the income expected from it was Rs. 7,300/-, giving a return of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the outlay. Even from the purely commercial standpoint, the scheme was thus a great success, but the real reward lies in the health and happiness of its city.

Water-supply for a rapidly growing city is a problem everywhere, unless the city is situated in proximity to an assured source like a river or a big lake. The plight of Madras in May, 1952, is a case in point. The administration of that State should have tackled this problem long ago and provided an adequate and assured supply of water. It should at least have reserved for this purpose the lake which supplies water. Instead this has to supply water for irrigation as well. That should have been stopped, and the lands converted into dry lands.

In respect of water supply for Bangalore, the Government was more vigilant and far-sighted. It provided the city with filtered pipe-water some decades ago from a reservoir situated eighteen miles from Bangalore. This proved sufficient for a time, but with the rapid increase of population the problem again became acute, and recourse was had to another tank, which, too, was found insufficient after some years. A suggestion was put forward by the Resident that the capacity of the Hessarghatta reservoir should be increased by raising the bund and waste weir at a cost of Rs. 13 lakhs. I was Dewan at the time. I felt that while this suggestion was all right as far as it went, it would not be a lasting solution of the problem. We had to find a source which could assure the city of a great deal more than the three or four million gallons daily which Hessarghatta and the other lake were supplying. A committee was accordingly appointed, under the chairmanship of Sir M. Visveswaraya, to go into this question and select a suitable site for a new reservoir. They chose a site twenty-two miles from Bangalore—one which had been thought of by the British engineers in the Commission days more than sixty years ago, but given up as they found it impossible then to pump water against a head of 1,000 ft. No time



was lost in building the reservoir. It supplies nine million gallons daily to the city, in addition to the three million supplied by the Hessarghatta lake, which has also been reserved for this purpose. This new Chamaraj Reservoir can be depended upon to supply nine million gallons daily even if the monsoon should fail for three years in succession. Thus Bangalore City has been placed in a reasonably safe position. Nevertheless, the Mysore administration would be well advised to look ahead and prepare a scheme to ensure at least double the present supply, so that the further development of the city may not be retarded for want of this precious commodity.



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*Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar*

BORN in June, 1884, the Maharaja was installed on his throne at the age of eleven and a half, on the untimely death of his father. His mother was proclaimed Maharani-Regent. She was a remarkable lady, and although she was only twenty-six she proved a very capable ruler. Her administration of the State, with the help of the Executive Council, won praise from every quarter. On his first visit to Mysore in 1900, Lord Curzon was received in the palace by the Maharani, with her two sons and three daughters. He remarked to the Yuvaraja, the Maharaja's younger brother, when he met him years later in London, that the picture of the young mother surrounded by her children would never fade from his memory. The late Sir Evan Maconochie, who was the Maharaja's first private secretary, thus refers to her in his very interesting book, *Life in the Indian Civil Service*:

A word of tribute is due to Her Highness the Maharani, late Regent. A certain clinging to power would have been more than excusable on the part of a lady of character and education, who for the six years of her son's minority had ruled the State. But I can say that never, during these seven years that I spent in Mysore, was I aware of the faintest indication on her part of a desire to intrude, even in minor personal matters, upon her son's domain. Dignity and good sense could go no further. The Maharaja was devoted to his mother. She enjoyed the same position in the palace as she did as Regent, lived in the same suite of rooms as before, and she received every mark of respect from her son.

On August 8, 1902, on the completion of his eighteenth year, the Maharaja was invested with full ruling powers by Lord Curzon, who was undoubtedly a great Viceroy and a remarkably fine administrator. He took special pains for the installation to



be adorned with due circumstance and ceremonial. He was escorted to the durbar by a battery of artillery and the 4th Hussars, and the Royal Warwickshire Regiment supplied the Guard of Honour, with band and colours, at the entrance to the durbar hall.

John Gunther, in his *Inside Asia*, described the Maharaja as a recluse and ascetic, steeped in orthodoxy. That is not a true description. A man who was fond of military exercises, riding, racing, hunting, motoring and music, and took a keen interest in gardening, farming and town-planning, could not be much of a recluse. He was an expert in organizing tiger-shoots and kheddass (elephant-catching operations). Remarkably versatile, he found interest and pleasure in so many more things than the average man does.

His personal wants were extremely few; his life was very simple, even austere. On State occasions there was pomp and splendour, such as was, perhaps, to be seen nowhere else in India. It would be hard to find anywhere in the world a spectacle more brilliant than his Dasara Durbar. But the magnificent display was intended for the enjoyment and benefit of his people. They met no desire of his own. He was kind to the old palace servants, and hated the idea of retiring them even when they had become useless. They were given full pay as pension. He did not like members of the State services to leave for appointments elsewhere. He wanted the services to be made so attractive that no one would be tempted to leave them. He was an acute but generous judge of men, slow in reproof, ready in praise. A letter which he wrote to me in May, 1934, illustrates both this eagerness to encourage and his close attention to affairs of State:

I need hardly tell you how keenly I have watched during the past ten years the patient labour that has done such wonders for my people, in irrigation and electrical works, in roads and hospitals, in public buildings and gardens, in village uplift and commercial enterprise.

I feel that your budget notes take perhaps rather a pessimistic view of the fact that your persistent progress in all directions, in the face of a series of years of depression, has among its results a large increase in the liabilities of the State. And I think it is only right to tell you that, while I congratulate you most wholeheartedly on the amazing progress that the State has made under your wise guidance, I am not



personally despondent about the increase in its indebtedness. New and critical times have called for new financial standards and methods. You have increased revenue by 40 lakhs without increasing the burdens of the people; the fall in the rates of interest has minimized the increase in your charges on that account; and I feel sure that, if an investigation were made, it would show an increase in the revenue-bearing assets of the State fully equal to the increase in the debt.

While you have been successful in so many departments, it is perhaps in your commercial enterprises that the most conspicuous results have been secured. You have, I hope and believe, converted the Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works from a liability into an asset; you have made the Sugar Works into one of the leading enterprises in Southern India; and, I understand, have inspired the public with so much confidence in Mysore State enterprises that the capital for the new companies to make silk and paper is likely to be subscribed many times over. Your new idea of putting a 3 per cent loan on tap for investment in enterprises that will more than pay their way involves a departure from old-fashioned financial precedents that is as bold as it deserves to be successful.

His Highness felt he must decline Lord Reading's proposal that he should be given the rank of lieutenant-general. Apart from his not desiring further honours for himself, he felt that any desire to gratify him might best be expressed by the remission of the heavy tribute levied on the State. Later, it was proposed that he should be appointed A.D.C. to His Majesty. His position was difficult: on the one hand his genuine loyalty to the King-Emperor and his appreciation of the honour offered him, and on the other his positive dislike of personal distinctions. Fortunately, both the Resident, Sir Steuart Pears, and Lord Reading, who happened to be on leave in England, well understood the Maharaja's feelings, and this appointment was not made, nor was there the slightest misunderstanding. His Majesty remembered this incident when I had the honour of a very pleasant audience with him in 1931. He too understood. He was very gracious to me. I remember remarking to him that when the dependencies became independent the Crown would be more essential than ever.

A devout Hindu, who lived his religion every day of his life, His Highness took genuine pleasure in helping others to practise



their faiths. I had the privilege of being intimately associated with him for nearly half a century. Never in all that period did he trust me less or treat me differently because I was a follower of another faith. Several Catholic nuns from the Mysore Convent worked in the palace as teachers or companions to the ladies of the family. Throughout the State there was the same spirit of tolerance and friendship among the people, and this was due to the extraordinary influence exercised by so wise and benevolent a ruler. The attachment of every caste and creed to his person and throne was deep and sincere. The Maharaja was very fond—all too fond—of hard exercise. He particularly loved mountain climbing. He did the pilgrimage to Badrinath in the Himalayas on foot, and also went to Manasarowar in Tibet. He played racquets regularly. Violent exercise, taken day after day, eventually weakened his heart. On the morning of a severe heart attack he had exercised five horses on the racecourse. When ill, he would not rest in bed despite his doctors' insistent advice.

Purity of soul, kindness of heart, generosity of disposition, patience and tolerance, a wise judgment of men and affairs—these are qualities which His Highness possessed in an eminent degree. It has been given to few, but to him it was given, to pass through life making only friends, no enemies. I am sure that history will record his name among the greatest in India's history. At a memorial service held in London when he died, Lord Samuel compared him to Asoka, and the same eminent statesman wrote to me, "The princes are few, either in our own day or in the past history, who have used the opportunities of their position so wisely and so well as he, or have conferred such great benefits on so vast a population." I wish there were space to quote in full the tribute paid to him in the *Asiatic Review* by Sir Stuart Fraser, who had known him for forty-six years, but a few sentences must suffice.

Nature in the main, and training in some measure, equipped him to lead a full and well-balanced life such as falls to the lot of few men, princes or commoners. His Highness would probably have demurred at being called, as some people called him, a philosopher. But he did regulate his life on wise eclectic principles. Although himself rightly revered by his people as a devout Hindu, in many of his speeches he



commended to the diverse castes and creeds of Mysore the idea of "unity in diversity," that unity in fundamentals which is much deeper than the differences. And in secular matters the catholic breadth of his mind was revealed when, in an address he gave as Chancellor of the Benares University, he stressed that their ideals should combine the best of the East with the practical efficiency of the West. Practising what he preached, his conception of a modern ruler of an ancient Hindu State required him to satisfy both old and new standards. And that he did not fail to realize this conception may be inferred from the fact that while pandits learned in the Hindu *Sanathan Dharma* hailed him as the *Rishi-Raja*, or saint-ruler, eminent politicians like Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad agreed in holding that the Maharaja, although not in law a constitutional sovereign, chose to behave as such and satisfied any test which a lover of modern constitutional development could apply. There was truth in both these estimates of his rule.

Music was the Maharaja's great recreation, and when a lad he kept a variety of instruments in his room, on which he would pick out any tune that took his fancy. As a man he played the violin, kept up an English orchestra in his palace, and was a liberal patron of Indian music as well. Music remained his solace to the end.

The passing of the Maharaja, in 1940, plunged the State in grief. To all his subjects, high or low, rich or poor, of all castes and creeds, he had become an object of almost sacred veneration. And messages of sympathy came not only from all parts of India but from many other parts of the world. To me, his death was the greatest sorrow I have known in my life.



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*Shaping India's Constitutional Future*

THROUGHOUT the prolonged discussions and negotiations leading to the shaping of the India Act of 1935, I had responsibility not only to Mysore but also to other States under princely rule. At the first session of the Indian Round Table Conference in London I represented also the South Indian States of Travancore, Cochin and Pudukota, and at the second I was spokesman for the Rajasthan States of Jaipur and Jodhpur. I was elected a member of the relatively small Consultative Committee of the Conference. While attending the third Conference I was on the Indian delegation assisting the Joint Parliamentary Committee which took evidence and broadly shaped the plan leading to the drafting of the great measure which in 1935 became the India Act. So it fell to me on not a few occasions to take the initiative in voicing the views of the "Indian India" as distinct from the "British India" of pre-partition days.

The Maharaja of Bikanir took the Round Table Conference by storm when, at its very first plenary session, he announced that the Ruling Princes were in favour of an All-India Federation. The British Government were greatly surprised, and so were many others. This is how it came about. At a meeting of the Ruling Princes and the Ministers from the States the previous day (we all met frequently), I suggested that a declaration to this effect should be made at the Conference on behalf of the Princes. When I noticed some hesitation, I told the meeting that I would myself make the statement. This clinched the matter. The Maharaja of Bikanir, who was then leader of the States' delegation, undertook to do it. The day after the meeting of the Conference, the Marquess of Reading asked me to tea at his residence in Curzon Street, and we discussed this question. Being aware that the suggestion had come from me, he was anxious to know



if the Princes were really serious. I assured him that they were; and added that, in my view, this was the only hope of survival for them, and that Federation would be in the best interests of India as well.

This is the genesis of the Federal idea, which, unfortunately, came to nothing in the end.

During the Round Table Conference days in London, I had occasion to speak to Lord Reading, the ex-Viceroy, on his attitude towards India. I asked, "Why should people in India think that you are against any constitutional advance?" I suggested that he should take an early opportunity of making known his views. He did this without hesitation. In the course of my own remarks at the Conference, I said:

When a statesman like Lord Reading, with his unique knowledge and experience of India, is prepared to advocate an advance in the direction suggested by the representatives of India at this Conference, the point may well be taken as settled beyond further question. A few more speeches, like the one made by Lord Reading, by leading British statesmen in the country, followed by prompt action, and India will cease to be the problem that she is to-day. By relaxing her political hold on India, Britain would be infinitely strengthening her moral hold and binding India more closely to herself. For, after all, in the last analysis it is the bonds of mutual interest that are the most enduring, as they are the most beneficial, between one country and another.

I wrote to Lord Reading conveying the warm appreciation of myself and my friends, and he replied:

Many thanks for your charming letter, which gave me real pleasure, particularly as you understood the earnestness and sincerity of my observations. I am experienced enough to be able to bring some discrimination to bear upon comment on action or speech of mine, and it is for this reason I greatly appreciate all you say.

The most prominent member of the Indian delegation at the first Round Table Conference was the late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. His contributions to the debates were most noteworthy, and we Indians felt proud of him. Even when Mahatma Gandhi arrived on the scene, Sir Tej remained the most powerful exponent of





Her Highness the Maharani Vani Vilas Sannidhana, C.I.







India's views. The British Government treated him with due respect and consideration, and his advice carried weight with them. I looked upon Sir Tej as the finest type of Indian, and as a model for young India to copy, even more than Mahatma Gandhi, who moved on a plane not attainable by the average man. Sir Tej was a man of modern culture, in every sense, above all communal and racial prejudices, an eminent jurist, an Urdu scholar, a lover of Persian poetry, as much a European and a Muslim as a Hindu in his habits and outlook on life—a true cosmopolitan indeed.

In a letter dated the 5th May, 1942, Sapru wrote:

I am very glad to know that you approve so heartily of the statement that I issued the other day on the Indian situation. I cannot tell you how greatly I value your approval. It is a tragedy that the Cripps Mission should have ended in the manner in which it has. While on the one hand I think that the Congress committed a great mistake in rejecting it at the end on the ground that the Government envisaged by him was not going to be a cabinet form of government in the constitutional sense of the term, on the other hand I think Cripps could have saved the situation if he had not so abruptly withdrawn the offer. In any case, I think the Viceroy should have played his part in trying to smooth matters, but he did not. At Delhi the only man among Congressmen with whom I was in touch was Rajagopalachari. I have come to admire him for his clear thinking and realistic politics. I also went to see the Mahatma as he wanted to see me. On that date (30th of March) I succeeded in persuading him not to break off the negotiations, but it was clear that the Mahatma had made up his mind against the Cripps offer.

Sir Tej died in 1949 after a long and painful illness. He sent for an Ayurvedic *vaid* from the Benares Hindu University.

He has (he wrote on May 3, 1948), a great reputation for competence, but unfortunately his treatment was not agreeable to me and my condition has become much worse than it was before this new experiment. I have now been confined to bed for the last two years and have lost all vigour and energy, cannot move even two steps without the help of servants, and have got to lie like a helpless creature in bed. Nevertheless, my mind is as active as ever and I follow with much interest what is happening in Delhi and other places. I am



afraid the position both in Kashmir and Hyderabad is not satisfactory. Neither the Maharaja of Kashmir nor the Nizam ever thought that their subjects would, like other people of India, demand responsible government. If they had been wise in their generation, they might have given generous reforms to their subjects and could have ensured their loyalty and support. I do hope, however, that things may turn out to be better than we all anticipate. My days are numbered and I have not the energy to take any part in public affairs now. It is a great solace to me that I still retain the affection and esteem of good friends like you.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani, the redoubtable editor of *The Leader* of Allahabad, I first met at a luncheon party given by the Aga Khan at the Ritz in London in 1931. Our friendship began at that moment, and grew into an intimacy which terminated only on his death. He visited Mysore at my invitation and spent some days seeing various places of interest. "Since I left Bangalore," he wrote, "my tongue has been very active in describing the glories of nature and the achievements of man in the truly model State of Mysore."

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, editor of *The Hindu*, was another notable figure at the Round Table Conference. He and I were old friends. In the discussions at the Conference, he invariably lent his support to Mysore's claim for the remission of the annual tribute, and this led a non-Brahmin delegate from Madras, who apparently bore him a grudge (at that time the Brahmin-non-Brahmin feeling in Madras was at its height), to invent a story that Rangaswami Iyengar had received a bribe of Rs. 1 lakh from me for advocating Mysore's cause! On my return from England, after the first Round Table Conference, I received a letter from him, saying, "I have heard glowing accounts of your work at the Conference and of the way you helped to bring the Princes and British Indians together."

The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri was also prominent at the Conference. An able politician, a man of deep learning and culture, and the most polished of all Indian speakers in English, he played an important part in the political and social life of the country for many years. He was one of my dearest friends, and, being neighbours, we saw a great deal of one another. He was a



constant visitor to Bangalore, of which he was very fond. Sastri did not always agree with Mahatma Gandhi or approve of his methods; indeed he seldom did. But he revered him, and he prophesied his martyrdom.

The Right Honourable Wedgwood Benn (now Lord Stansgate) was Secretary of State for India at the first and second Round Table Conferences. He, like the then Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, was most anxious to settle the Indian problem to the satisfaction of India. They were responsible for holding the Conferences. The late Mr. H. B. Lees-Smith, then Postmaster-General and a close associate of Mr. Wedgwood Benn at the Conference, was also a staunch friend of India. I kept in close touch with these statesmen when they ceased to be Ministers after the fall of the Labour Government but continued as representatives of the Party at the Conference.

Sir Samuel Hoare (now Viscount Templewood), who succeeded Mr. Wedgwood Benn as Secretary of State for India, impressed us Indians with his masterly grasp of the Indian problem and the tactful manner in which he handled the delegates. He had to proceed cautiously in face of the scathing attacks of Mr. Winston Churchill and his group on one side and the insistent demands of the Indian delegates on the other. He managed, however, to frame and pilot the Act of 1935, which would have proved a real blessing to India if only the British Government had implemented it in its entirety instead of allowing themselves to be thwarted by the perverse opposition of the ruling princes and others. They lacked the necessary courage and vision. The Viceroy (Lord Linlithgow), too, failed to rise to the occasion. If the 1935 Act had been brought into operation as planned, the history of India would have been different.

Sir Samuel was the obvious choice for the Viceroyalty of India when it fell vacant, but Mr. Baldwin preferred Lord Linlithgow, and Mr. Churchill even extended his term rather than appoint Sir Samuel, although the latter had made a deep study of the whole problem and had established close contact with Indian leaders.

I am afraid Indian delegates talked too much, consuming—or rather wasting—precious time when it was most important that



we should get on with the work. At last, in sheer desperation, the Secretary of State summoned a few of the more prominent among us to an informal meeting, and appealed to us to restrain ourselves and cut down our speeches since time was getting short. We responded grandly by repeating our performance the next day and making longer speeches than ever!

Mr. M. A. Jinnah made no impression at the Round Table Conference. He was in agreement with no one, not even, in the end, with his own Muslim delegation. He insisted on ploughing his lonely furrow. He had his own views and obstinately stuck to them. He was dead against the Federal scheme and condemned it as both unsound and unworkable. Sir Muhammad Shafi, the leader of the Muslim delegation, had to rise and declare that Jinnah was speaking for himself, not for the delegation.

Lord Sankey was an admirable Chairman of the Conference, and was much liked by the Indian delegates. He conducted its proceedings with tact and dignity. He had something pleasant to say about the speeches of every Indian delegate, except one whose affectation and verbosity tried even Lord Sankey's patience.

When I went to Europe for the first Round Table Conference, Stanley Baldwin sent for me, and we had a long talk about India and the work before the Round Table Conference. I found him quite sympathetic towards our aspirations. His chief anxiety was, as he said to me when we met again some time later, that "we should not let India go the way of China."

The best minds of India were always engaged in seeking a solution to the question of its constitutional development. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah, of Bombay, who occupied a distinguished position in public life, took a keen interest in this question. He wrote several letters to me in the early part of 1941, explaining his own scheme. He was in favour of a unitary system of government, as best suited to the conditions prevailing in the country. "It is my firm conviction," he wrote in the first of his letters, "that so long as India is divided into provincial areas there is not the slightest prospect of communal unity. In my view a unitary system once introduced will force the conviction that the Indian people are one, and the different elements of the population will be obliged to work as one unit. A large number of provincial



units will not only involve heavy administrative expenditure, which a poor country like India can hardly afford, but would perpetuate communal differences."

I was always a strong advocate of Federation, and could not agree with him. We had gone so far in the direction of decentralization, I wrote to Rahimtoolah that the only feasible remedy, it seemed to me, was to go forward. The difficulties in the way of devising and working a suitable Federal Constitution should never make us forget that Federation was the only possible solution for our country. "I am, however, one with you in your disapproval of the proposal to divide India into two. I echo your sentiment that every nationally-minded Indian will highly deprecate all such tendencies."

In a further letter I clarified my idea of a federal form of government for India:

I am all for a strong central government, as opposed to a very "centralized government." But at the same time it is necessary—and I wish particularly to emphasize this point—that the Provinces, like the States, should enjoy internal autonomy with the minimum of interference from the Central Government in the day to day administration, each having full freedom of action to develop its individual, communal, and cultural unity, and to prosecute its own schemes for the intensive development of their respective areas consistently with local conditions and traditions. Let us take, for instance, Madras, with a population of some fifty million, which is more than that of England. I think it is hardly necessary for me to stress the fact that if the progress of the Province should be even and smooth, it should have a local government of its own with full liberty in regard to the formulation of its policies and in respect of legislation, and it should be in a position to devote close attention to routine administration and to the improvement of rural areas. This is a sphere which has been too long neglected by the provincial administrations, and needs and demands urgent attention if the country as a whole is to progress and prosper. It is only they that can devote sufficient attention to them. . . . It seems to me, therefore, that your scheme of a unitary system of Government for India is open to many objections, both in theory and practice. What we really want is a strong central government—and to be strong it must be federal—to exercise some restraining and steadying influence on Indian politics generally, and to safeguard the national interests of



the country, and the conflicting interests of Provinces and Provinces and States and Provinces.

In the course of his reply, Rahimtoolah wrote:

It appears to me that you can do a most far-reaching service to the cause of our motherland. The best effort which can be made towards the solution of this problem is for your good self to convene a conference consisting of the most prominent political leaders in India, including the representatives of the Indian States, who should be requested to attend in their individual capacity and not as representatives of political organizations in which they hold prominent positions. Twenty-five or at the most fifty leaders should meet and frankly and freely discuss the problem from all its aspects.

Later he wrote:

As we are agreed on the question of convening such a conference, the next question for consideration is who should convene it. I should like to renew my request to you to reconsider your decision and to keep an open mind as to whether you will actually convene the conference or you will not. Before you finally decide this issue it appears to me that the best course would be for you to send confidentially a copy of my letter to Mr. Gandhi and to Mr. Jinnah, asking them whether they approve of the idea, whether they would advise you to call this conference or whether they would attend it in their individual capacity. If you receive replies from them which you do not regard as satisfactory, you would then be justified in giving up the idea of convening such a conference.

As suggested by Rahimtoolah, I sent to Gandhi and Jinnah copies of his letter, and sought their views on his suggestion. My letter, dated July 13, 1941, to Mahatma Gandhi:

I am approaching you with a request. I do not know if you will have the patience to go through the enclosed papers, but if you can I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know how far the suggestion of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah to hold some sort of conference to discuss the Indian political problem appeals to you.

My own view is that such a conference, if it is to be successful, as I am optimistic enough to think it would be, should be organized by the Government and meet under their auspices. I am convinced that the sooner such a meeting of leaders and representatives of various



groups and parties takes place, the better for the country. Otherwise, barren controversies and bitter feuds will go on without end, resulting in the loss of precious time and in the further weakening of our position as a people at a time when we should all be united and strong. I am writing to Mr. Jinnah also, but it is more than doubtful if the suggestion will appeal to him at all.

Mahadev Desai acknowledged my letter on behalf of the Mahatma:

Gandhiji was delighted to have your letter of the 13th with the enclosures—all the more so to find that your interest in the affairs and interest of the country remains unabated. But he is definitely of opinion that any conference convened or organized by Government is foredoomed to failure. Even a private conference, he feels, would not be of much use at the present moment.

Gandhi himself wrote on the 23rd July, 1941:

I have no faith in conferences at the present moment. We can do nothing when people come with mental reservations. Nevertheless, I do not dissuade those who believe in them. Therefore if you or Sir Tej convened one and wanted me to come, I should gladly come in my individual capacity. But I am more likely to become a cause of discord than otherwise.

Jinnah's attitude to the conference idea put forward by Sir Ibrahim was also the reverse of favourable. My letter dated July 14, 1941, to Jinnah was as follows:

I hope you will forgive my troubling you with a request. I enclose copies of correspondence between Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah and myself on the subject of the political problem of India. In his last letter to me, dated 7th July, of which also I enclose a copy, he asks me to consult you in regard to his proposal for the summoning of a conference to discuss this question.

I am not sure if the suggestion appeals to you at all, but I shall be glad if you will favour me with your views.

I have long held the view, and have repeatedly urged it on the attention of Mahatma Gandhi and other friends, that a constituent committee should be appointed at the earliest possible moment to formulate proposals for the attainment by India of a position of



equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations as soon as practicable. That committee would be essentially an Indian committee. The British Government would not come into it at all. They would only be asked to consider its report after the termination of the war.

The first problem the committee would have to solve, if its labours were to be successful, would be the communal one. There you would come in, and I feel that a committee of this kind would afford the best chance of a solution of the problem, a solution which might be regarded as satisfactory by all parties.

Otherwise, what is the alternative? The present bitterness will go on increasing, resulting in unhappiness all round and in the disastrous weakening of the country's position at a time when she should be united and strong. As I told you in person the other day when you were here, I do not understand how anybody can object to recognizing a patent fact, namely, the position of the Muslim League as the only All-India organization which can speak on behalf of the entire Muslim population of India. And you, as the unanimously elected head of that organization, should be regarded as—and you really are—the only accredited spokesman of the Muslim community. Your membership of the proposed committee would not militate against that position. I hope that you will give due consideration to all aspects of the question and favour me with your views.

I am going to Poona for the Sapru Conference and mean to put forward the suggestion of a committee. So far, Sir Tej has shown no inclination to accept it and I doubt if anything will come of it. I am, of course, quite prepared for a disappointment, but I shall, nevertheless, persist, convinced as I am that there is no better way of solving the Indian problem.

Jinnah's reply was dated July 17, 1941:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th of July, 1941, enclosing the correspondence between Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah and yourself on the subject of the political problem of India.

To begin with I notice that you two fundamentally differ as to the basis. Secondly, your letter is very sad reading inasmuch as you are again repeating your proposal and want me to agree to your being an intermediary, to which, apart from the question of the merits and demerits of your proposal to form a committee, I cannot agree. During the course of our conversation at Bangalore in May last, for various reasons which I pointed out to you that such a move on your



part will be highly undesirable, you agreed and assured me that you will not do anything in the matter. Since then, from your activities, I gather that you have broken your assurance to me. You know my views about the Sapru Conference, which were broadcast in the Press not very long ago, and I do not want to say anything further which may hurt you. Nevertheless, I suppose, as a "non-party man" you find that platform suitable to you and have decided to attend it; but of course I cannot approve of your decision as in my opinion it is calculated to harm the Muslim cause.

I am glad to note that you say, "I do not understand how anybody can object to recognizing a patent fact, namely, the position of the Muslim League as the only All-India organization which can speak on behalf of the entire Muslim population of India." I also thank you for a great compliment that you have been pleased to pay me, when you say, "and you as the unanimously elected head of that organization should be regarded as—and you really are—the only accredited spokesman of the Muslim community."

In these circumstances don't you think that you can do much more useful service in joining the Muslim League and make your full contribution for the betterment of that great organization, now that you are free from the shackles of your office, for I wonder what you will achieve by attending the "Sapru Conference."

I am of opinion that it is the duty of every Musalman to join the Muslim League and help and guide the organization from within and not to act as a super-individual leader, which is not only harmful to the cause of the Musalmans but India generally.

My further letter dated July 23, 1941, to Jinnah:

I have received your kind letter of the 17th. You say that I am trying to act as an intermediary. I have no such intention, let me assure you, especially where you are concerned. I wrote to you, as you will have seen from Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah's letter to me, simply at his special request. I would not have thought of troubling you otherwise. A request coming from a man of the high position of Sir Ibrahim had to be complied with, and I am not sorry I did, as I feel I have pleased him thereby, though I knew full well that I would be displeasing you.

You invite me to join the Muslim League. I wish I was in a position to do so, but, you will no doubt realize, my lifelong association with a Hindu Maharaja and my long service in a Hindu State where I have received the most loyal co-operation from my Hindu fellow-citizens



throughout my official career, prevent me from identifying myself with a political organization which is avowedly anti-Hindu in its aims and objects. My own endeavour will be to work—in so far as it lies in my power—for communal concord, while safeguarding the legitimate interests of my own community to the fullest extent. Your aim, too, is, unless I am much mistaken, not very different, though the policy you advocate and the methods you adopt in carrying it out may not be the same.

As regards the Poona Conference, I am going there simply out of regard and affection for Sir Tej, and you may rest assured that I am not likely to say or do anything in the least likely to do any harm to the Muslim cause.

His reply:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd of July, 1941, and I must most emphatically controvert your statement characterizing the Muslim League as "a political organization which is avowedly anti-Hindu in its aims and objects." That has grieved me coming from a man of your position and understanding and let me emphasize that it is not true. As to the rest of your letter I have nothing to add to what I have already said in my previous letter of the 17th of July.

In a letter to *The Times*, I gave expression to our feelings of gratitude for the kindness and hospitality we received in England. I have been all through a firm believer in the British connection. In 1931, when the clouds had overspread the Round Table Conference in its closing days, I said in a statement to *The Times* that it would be a thousand pities if the unique opportunity the Conference had provided of uniting Great Britain and India for as long a time as could be foreseen was not properly utilized. The unfortunate division of Indian opinion at the Conference on the minorities problem placed upon the British Government the responsibility for decision and the dissipation of any suspicion that they were taking advantage of the unhappy state of affairs. There could be, I added, no secure, prosperous India except as a partner in the British Commonwealth; and such partnership was essential to world unity and the progress of civilization. To promote this ideal, Indians of goodwill would wish to do their part, and they looked to the British Government and Parliament to do theirs.



Again, in March, 1946, I gave expression to my views on Indo-British relations. I was convinced, I wrote, on both practical and sentimental considerations, that India's political fulfilment lay in a free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and I had no doubt that India, by her own free choice, would remain with England and share a common destiny. Amidst the complexities, dangers and immense possibilities of the future, that was the way of security, of progress and of peace.— I rejoice that, under the wise leadership of her Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, she chose that way when the time for decision came.

I should like to pay tribute here to Mr. Nehru. By every test he is one of the greatest men of this century. The directing head of by far the largest numerical unit in the "free world," he has reached heights of responsible statesmanship and world influence without parallel in modern history for a revolutionary seeking neither a ruthless dictatorship nor the conquest of other peoples but the independence of his Motherland from all external control. It is of signal advantage to his country to be guided by one who was moulded by strangely mixed influences. His intense patriotism has blended with the effects of seven impressionable years in Britain at Harrow School, Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Middle Temple. This experience gave him a strong attachment to Western conceptions of democracy, and a great love of English literature. While no man is more tenacious of his convictions, he has kept his mind supple in the international field, and has taken full advantage, in the counsels of the nations, of India's key position as the real meeting-place in Asia of East and West and the breakwater to Communist advance. He is the architect of the influential position his Motherland occupies in world affairs, and has used it to promote and ensure peace. But his first concern has rightly been the welfare and advancement of his own people, of every race and creed.



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*Jaipur and its Problems*

I SPENT four pleasant and interesting years in 1942-46 as Prime Minister of Jaipur under an enlightened ruler who, true to his promise, gave me his full support. What I liked most in Jaipur was freedom from intrigue. His Highness would not allow intrigue of any kind to raise its ugly head where he was concerned. He formed his own judgment, uninfluenced by busybodies, and acted upon it.

A striking instance of his independence of judgment was shown when, towards the close of my term of office, three of my four colleagues on the Executive Council, tiring of me and my ways, went to His Highness and complained that I was acting in a dictatorial manner. The Maharaja asked if they had any objection to his mentioning this to me, as he thought it was only fair that he should know what I had to say. When he spoke to me, I could conscientiously deny the accusation and he seemed to be quite satisfied. I obtained his permission to speak to my colleagues, which I did at a Council meeting when we were all together. They must have been surprised to see me more amused than annoyed at their action. I said that they were really unkind and unfair to me, for no Prime Minister could possibly have treated his colleagues with greater deference or taken them more fully into his confidence. It all ended happily.

Whatever differences of opinion may have arisen between me and the Political Department at Delhi—I confess I did give them trouble at times—there was this to be said, that its officers were gentlemen and behaved as such. They were not vindictive; wary, of course, and slow to trust, they displayed no rancour, and took no revenge, even when an exhibition of feeling would have been understandable. It gives me genuine pleasure to state that in my official dealings with British officials generally I came to



entertain high respect for their qualities. The British are a slow-moving, over-cautious and conservative people, but they are by nature fair-minded and just, and not easily carried away by emotion. One of their virtues is an astonishing capacity to forget grievances instead of brooding over them.

To such excellence of attitude there were, however, some exceptions. When a Political Agent in Jaipur was going round the School of Art, he was assaulted and injured by a disgruntled teacher, being mistaken by him for the head of the Education Department, against whom the teacher had a grievance. Fortunately the wound was superficial, and soon healed. The Political Agent seems to have suspected that I had something to do with the attack. The teacher was a Muslim, but I was not even aware of his existence. The head of the Medical Department, a retired British officer, also blamed me, and told me that such a thing had happened because turbulent elements were encouraged in the State! In the previous régime, he said, a strong Prime Minister knew how to uphold authority and keep such rowdies in their place. This view was shared by the Police chief, another retired British officer of the Government of India. The man was sentenced by the High Court to seven years' rigorous imprisonment. This, however, did not satisfy the Political Agent, who seemed even to suspect that I had induced the Court to pass what, he felt, was too light a sentence. He sent a copy of the judgment to New Delhi, for scrutiny by the Law Department. I asked the Chief Justice of Jaipur, Sir Sarat Ghose, formerly a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, to assure the Political Agent that I had not exchanged a word with him on the merits of the case. The Political Agent was not satisfied, apparently, even with the Chief Justice's assurance. I did not care to talk to him myself, but I sent to the Political Secretary in New Delhi a copy of a speech delivered in Mysore in 1940 (when I was Dewan) by the Chief Justice, Sir D'Arcy Reilly, in which he said:

Never have the Government by word of hint or deed interfered in the slightest degree with our judicial work. Never during the six years I have been here, whatever annoyance the Government may have felt with our proceedings, has even by the flicker of an eyelid any hint



of such feeling been given. The relations of the Government and the High Court have always been strictly correct.

The Political Secretary, in reply, wrote that he had shown my letter and its enclosure to Sir Francis Wylie, the Political Adviser, and they both appreciated my reasons for sending the letter and enclosure to them. I heard no more of the incident.

In the latter part of 1943, the Viceroy wrote to the Maharaja through the Political Agent, objecting to the use of the word of command, "Royal Salute" on ceremonial occasions. Replying on behalf of the Maharaja, I wrote that I need not conceal from the Political Agent the fact that His Highness had been deeply wounded by that communication. It was desired that he should give up a custom that had been followed by the State for generations, and I thought that possibly it had not been quite realized how his position in the eyes of his people, and, in particular, of his troops, would be affected.

The objection was raised on the ground that the use of the expression would be an encroachment on the prerogative of the King-Emperor. The Maharaja's representation was that a privilege long enjoyed and valued might remain. The request was rejected. His Highness accepted the decision, and said that he presumed that it was applicable equally to all States. The matter was not pursued further, and the objection was, I believe, allowed to lapse. Sir Francis Wylie had resumed charge of the office of Political Adviser, and he knew what importance to attach to matters of this sort.

Lord and Lady Wavell paid a visit to Jaipur in 1946, and received a right royal welcome from the citizens. When Lord Wavell's predecessor visited Jaipur only a few years before, he had to be taken through deserted streets. I arranged to take the Wavells through the most crowded parts of the city in procession. The Inspector-General of Police was in despair. He was dead against such a risky adventure. But I had no doubt that the public would extend a hearty welcome to the Viceroy and would be very happy to see him. I had spoken to the Praja Mandal (Congress) leaders and others and had received assurance of their whole-hearted co-operation. In the first car sat the Viceroy, the



Maharaja and I, followed by Her Excellency's and other cars. It was indeed grand to see the public thronging round the Viceregal car and showering flowers on the Viceroy. It took us nearly three hours to finish the drive. When it was all over, the Police Chief heaved a sigh of relief. A leading member of the Congress party wrote congratulating me on the successful termination of the Viceregal visit:

I do not think that in the year 1946 such a grand reception could be given to a British Viceroy in any other part of India. It is no flattery if I say that it was very difficult, if not impossible, for any person other than yourself to have managed everything so tactfully in these turbulent days, when the anti-British feeling is running so high. The Viceroy must have left Jaipur fully satisfied.

I accompanied the Viceregal party to the State boundary. The villagers en route had tea and other refreshments ready for Their Excellencies and were anxious that their humble invitation should be accepted, as it was. This was something out of the ordinary, quite hazardous some would say, but again I knew there was no risk whatsoever.

Somehow, the Political Department felt very uneasy about Jaipur and did not approve of my activities. Their ideas of administering States differed from mine. They wanted things to go on as usual; no progress and no fuss of any sort. They thought that I was spending too much money and making too many changes. I had made my own position quite clear to the Maharaja from the beginning. I had not gone there just to maintain law and order and leave everything else that mattered. Either I must be allowed to carry out my policy and do what I believed to be in the best interests both of the State and the ruler or I must be permitted to go home. His Highness rose to the occasion and displayed considerable courage in supporting me. The Viceroy wrote to him, in reply to his earnest request to be allowed to go to the front on military duty, that it might be possible to employ him for a time on military duty outside the State only when "certain matters" had been safely decided. It was obviously an indictment of my management. The Maharaja wrote to His Excellency assuring him that he had given his personal attention



to all those matters and was satisfied that there was nothing to cause concern, except, of course, the question of food supply, which was a problem common to almost every part of India.

His Highness referred to the advice given to him by the Political Department to postpone expenditure upon all public works except those of an inescapable character in the city of Jaipur, and he assured the Viceroy that no new work would be undertaken unless it was absolutely essential and could not be postponed. His Highness expressed his belief that when the proposed constitutional reforms were introduced and municipalities and village panchayets were established, as was intended, a great and welcome change in the outlook of the people generally, whether Thakurs or others, would take place. Moreover, the comprehensive scheme of reconstruction which was being prepared would give new and ample opportunity to all classes, both of employment and of public service. It was to be expected that there would be a healthy diversion of energy from petty personal considerations to activity for the public good.

The Maharaja added that he was in close touch with all that was going on in the State and his ministers had constant access to him. It gratified him to observe the distinct improvement in the administration that was taking place from day to day. Much, of course, remained to be done to make it completely efficient, but we were doing our best.

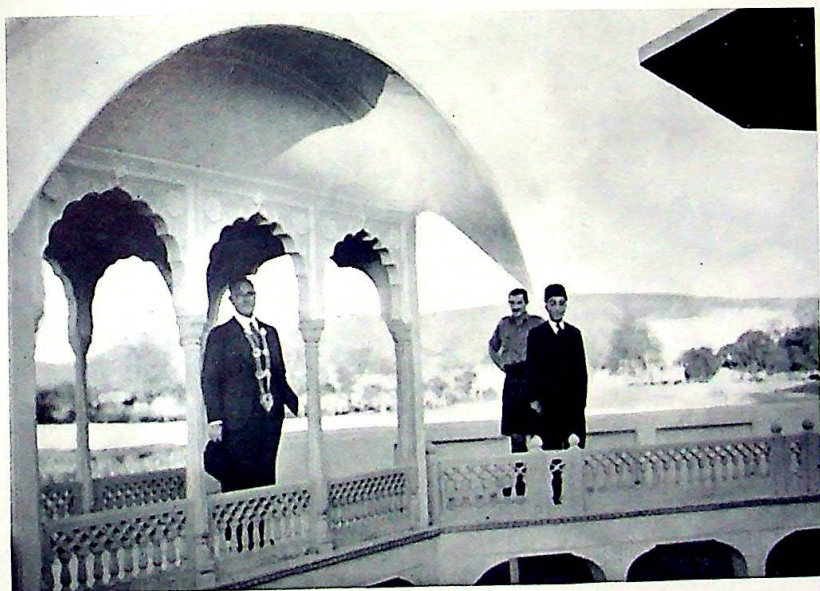
I would add [His Highness wrote] that while I have the keenest personal desire to get to the front again, and play a more active part than is possible here, I well realize how important is the effort towards victory that can be made at home. Neither in men nor in any sort of contribution shall we be found to fall short. No State understands better than Jaipur that the single duty of working, in all ways, for speedy victory requires all our energies and resources. While, like the Government of India and the Army itself, we have also been looking beyond victory and endeavouring to prepare for the future, we well know that the immediate demands of war are paramount and shall allow no others to compete with them. Nor is this a mere matter of duty to us.

The rapidity with which the improvements were going on in the city excited the admiration of the special correspondent of





Field-Marshal Lord Wavell visiting the Jaipur State during his Viceroyalty.  
The Maharajah is on the right and the Author is behind with Lady Wavell.



Jaipur: Lord Wavell in the renovated garden.







the *New York Times*, who visited Jaipur and sent a glowing account of them to his paper. But it alarmed the Political Department, which thought that far too much money was being spent upon the improvement of the city at a time when every pie should be saved and invested in Government of India securities. The Viceroy himself wrote to the Maharaja and advised him to go slow. I was, of course, the culprit they had in mind. I explained to the Political Department that I was not wasting public money. I was, in fact, making the best possible use of it. I was feeding starving mouths and at the same time cleaning the city, which was in a most deplorable condition. I agreed to go as slow as possible—but I went on, all the same, with my plans, only a little more slowly and cautiously.

I quote here a few sentences from the despatches of Mr. Herbert L. Matthews to the *New York Times*, dated the 9th and 14th October, 1942:

Three days here, during which your correspondent has talked with all classes of residents, have convinced him that there is powerful sympathy with the Congress party's general program, even though it does not take violent form. Jaipur thanks its Premier for its calm and wonders why the authorities elsewhere do not act as he does. Sir Mirza says to students, workers and agitators:

"Go ahead and demonstrate, strike and parade to your heart's content. I shall not stop you as long as you really remain non-violent according to the Congress program. There will be no repression and no terrorism in Jaipur." As a result there has been no rioting or sabotage here. The police and troops have made no lathi charges, nor have they fired into crowds. There is no bitterness on the part of the people towards the authorities.

When the stream of American tourists flows back to this famed "Pink City" after the war, they are going to find it more thoroughly transformed and improved than New York after Robert Moses got through with it.

Unemployment is a thing of the past. Workers who earned three annas (six cents) daily now are getting very high wages of six to eight annas. Reconstruction, new parks, new buildings, restorations and improvements of all kinds are now going on at an amazing pace for India. The city swarms with workers as busy as bees.

"For every tree I cut down I will plant a hundred," said Premier



Ismail when he was driving me around the city to see the improvements. "When I tear down a man's house I want him to leave it smiling and knowing that he is going to a new and better one."

In Jaipur one finds less of a tendency to blame the British for everything that is wrong with India, but there is no lack of criticism here, either. That is why it was interesting to find in Sir Mirza one of the rare Indians who want the British to stay and collaborate on a footing of equality in the future process of freeing the country. He wants Indianization of the government, but, for the present, with responsibility to the Viceroy. In his opinion, the present difficulties could be settled by appointing a wholly Indian government of four Congress party men and four Moslem Leaguers, three representatives of the States, one Sikh or Parsee or Christian, while leaving military defence in the hands of the British. After the war the British would remain as technical advisers in business and military fields. He, like virtually all Indians one meets, however highly placed, feels that something must be done soon. He thinks that the situation is getting progressively worse.

Jaipur was, before the war, one of the most popular touring centres for visitors to India. Thousands came to the city from Europe, America and elsewhere. A first-class modern hotel is a great desideratum in Jaipur, and also a cheaper but up-to-date hotel for those living in Indian style. I had hoped to put both these projects through as joint stock enterprises with Government participation. But I had to leave without accomplishing this.

A charge of extravagance was brought against me—it was nothing new in my experience—although I added over Rs. 3 crores to the accumulated savings of the State during the four years I was there. I confess that I was not at all proud of this achievement. Anyone can go on stinting and saving money, but it requires some sense to spend money wisely and well. And money is meant to be spent reproductively, not to be hoarded. If I had not constructed the new offices and new bungalows and made many other improvements in Jaipur, it would probably not have been chosen under the new dispensation as the capital of Rajasthan. Those buildings would cost three to four times as much now. I challenge any critics, whether in Mysore or Jaipur, to point to a single building put up in my time which they now think should not have been erected. So also with regard to other



works that I undertook. The Brindavan Hotel and Gardens at Mysore, for instance, contributed a sum of Rs. 60,000 in 1951 to the coffers of the Government. Such amenities have more than paid for themselves even from the purely commercial point of view. I never believed in saving money and allowing people's crying needs to remain unsatisfied.

Jaipur City can boast of some of the most attractive ancient buildings in India. The gateways, particularly, are masterpieces of Indo-Saracenic architecture. Ferguson characterized the one at Amber as the noblest in the world. The fountains in the Madho Vilas Gardens which I rescued from utter ruin have wonderful artistic beauty. The ingenuity displayed in those good old days to supply water to them from an ordinary well is most interesting. And there is a unique kind of swimming "pool"—if it can be so called—where the bathers chase one another through channels. When I visited Jaipur a couple of years ago, it was heartrending to see what should have been one of the most beautiful parks in India sadly neglected, and fast becoming a wilderness once more. The city and the other parks, too, presented an appearance of neglect.

Cecil Beaton, the well-known photographer and artist, visited Jaipur on the invitation of the Maharaja. Driving along one day with me to the famous Amber Palace, he noticed what must once have been beautiful buildings in a dilapidated condition. He remarked that it was a pity to leave them in that state. I suggested he should speak to the Maharaja. I said I had been trying to get his consent to restoration, but had not succeeded so far. He spoke to the Maharaja and I obtained the necessary permission. The Maharaja had hesitated only because he was afraid the public might criticize us for wasting public money on such things. He actually took a keen interest in the improvement of his city, which he loved and of which he was proud. He had excellent taste. It is regrettable that he cannot do such things now under the new constitution.

*Vogue* published a very interesting account of Jaipur City from the pen of Mr. Beaton. I quote a few sentences:

With its vast open squares and pleasure gardens, and every building painted the uniform terracotta paint, the City is so well-planned and



spacious, and its colours so harmonious, that the general effect is of an almost somnambulant leisure and serenity. Nowhere else in the world have I seen such brilliant and robust colours used to produce an effect so refined and subtle.

Sir Mirza is the arch-enemy of corrugated iron sheets, brass bands (Indian) and of almost everything else that is crude and vulgar. . . . The money he spends is put into circulation and is used as a means of getting rid of unhygienic conditions and sources of disease. Already the metamorphoses he has achieved in a short time are incredible, but his plans are as countless as his inspirations.

The legacy of this wonderful city has fallen into safe hands. The Maharaja of Jaipur is a young man with a proud appreciation of the beauties of his State and a keen interest in building anew.

The Maharaja is a born soldier and soldiering is a passion with him. He served in the Life Guards and still holds an officer's rank in that famous regiment, an honour which he prizes highly. In the last war he was prepared to undergo any amount of hardship and even to risk his life so long as he was given a chance of serving in the field. He is a first-class polo player, and has had a handicap of nine. He possesses the best polo ground in India. At polo he has met with serious accidents which nearly cost him his life, but he still plays—and does so as boldly and magnificently as ever.

He is now Rajapramukh of Rajasthan, the name given to the Princes who are placed at the head of their States or of a group of States, as in the case of Rajasthan. They are purely constitutional heads exercising no more power than the Governors of former "British India" provinces, and are bound to accept the advice of ministers responsible to legislatures.

His Highness was good enough to name one of the most important roads after me, and he signified his pleasure in these words:

I would like to name a road after you, if you will agree, as I feel Jaipur owes so much to you already for all the improvements you are making, and although your name will be associated in other connections in time to come the town improvement is already widely known and associated with you. I should like to call the road starting near Barwara House passing the Secretariat and all the gates of the City up to the Ghat Gate after your name.



I originally took up the Jaipur post for only one year. Later, I accepted two years' extension and then again one more year, thus spending in all four years in that beautiful State under a very kind and appreciative ruler, who wrote:

I can't tell you how happy I am that you have accepted my invitation to stay on as my Prime Minister for another two years. You have earned my implicit confidence and you may rest assured that you will always have my fullest support. No other Prime Minister in Jaipur has done so much to improve the tone of the administration and to inspire so much confidence in the hearts of the public. It is a great pleasure to me to watch you working so wholeheartedly for the betterment of my people and the welfare of my State.

I wondered why Mahatma Gandhi had not written to me on hearing of my appointment in Jaipur. I happened to write to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, on whose friendly interest I could always rely. I said that I had gone to Jaipur in the hope of doing some good, not only to Jaipur but, through Jaipur, to the whole of Rajputana. This seems to have appealed to Mahatma Gandhi and he sent me a very kind letter:

I was halting between two opinions—whether to condole with you or congratulate you on your acceptance of the Jaipur Dewanship. I had pictured for you a position on a wider field where you could have made an effective contribution to communal unity. But your letter to Rajkumari, which she has sent me, enables me to come to a decision. Though the field is narrow, you will render a great service if you succeed in helping the emancipation of the people of Rajputana.

I had long known G. D. Birla, and throughout my stay in Jaipur, he gave me much valuable advice and support. Happening to visit Bangalore before I had the remotest idea of ever going to Jaipur, he told me how the Government there were refusing to sanction his request to raise the Intermediate College at his birth-place, Pilani, a small township in an arid tract one hundred miles from Jaipur, to the status of a degree college, although this would not cost them a pie. I expressed surprise at their attitude, little imagining that it would one day fall to me to give such permission. Soon after I went to Jaipur the permission was duly accorded, and the Intermediate College became a full-fledged



degree college. The Birlas have spent money lavishly on educational institutions at Pilani and elsewhere, and have established there Arts, Science, and Engineering Colleges and largely endowed the proposed Electronics Research Institute. Pilani has thus become an important educational centre, maintained by the munificence of the Birla brothers. Ganshyam Das Birla was ever ready to help me to establish new industries in Jaipur. He did not mind venturing on a hazardous enterprise if he felt that it was likely to promote the interests of the State.

Before my time, Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, and Sir John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, paid a private visit to Pilani and stayed there for a day or two as guests of Mr. Birla. They were called upon to explain why they went there without the previous permission of the Jaipur Government! The Birlas were very much in the bad books of the Political Department. They were regarded as patrons of the Praja Mandal, the local Congress organization. It was not allowed to call itself "Congress." Marwari magnates deliberately avoided even passing through Jaipur city by rail for fear of being molested by the Customs authorities. I felt that such a state of affairs should not be allowed to continue. I obtained the Maharaja's permission to invite Mr. G. D. Birla and Sir Badridas Goenka—a prominent business man of Calcutta, also a Jaipurian—to visit the capital. They came and were cordially received by the Maharaja. In this way began their closer association with their own State.

Sites were allotted to a few prominent Jaipurians—the Birlas, the Podars, the Goenkas and others—in a new area adjoining the Palace grounds which had been laid out as an extension of the city. I was hoping that these rich people would build mansions there and so help to embellish the city and increase its prosperity and importance. I am not aware if any progress has since been made in that direction, or whether the sites are still clamouring to be built upon. It is interesting to note how many successful business men in British India hail from Jaipur—the Birlas, Podars, Dalmias, Singhanias, Goenkas, Bajajs, Sakserias and Jaipurias, and several others.

Within a few months of my arrival in Jaipur, I went to Patna



for a university function, and happened to visit the American Jesuit Mission school and hostel. I had heard much in its praise. I was so deeply impressed with the institution that I felt I should do my utmost to get a similar school established by that Mission in Jaipur. This I was able to do within a year. An excellent site was granted free by the Government, not without opposition. The Mission soon started building operations. When I revisited Jaipur for the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Maharaja in 1947, I was delighted to see the school and other buildings nearing completion. As I had anticipated, the institution had become popular, and in due time, I have no doubt, it will become the most flourishing public school in all Rajputana. How many schools in India can boast of having a dozen first-class American educationists on their teaching staff? The Mission has spent quite a considerable sum—some lakhs, I believe—on the buildings, apart from shouldering the recurring cost.

I came in close touch with the educational work of the Church of Scotland Mission in Jaipur. From the very beginning, in the days of the East India Company, it has been recognized that private effort is indispensable to the progress of Indian education on modern lines. And from the beginning, as was pointed out by the late Dr. William Meston, an illustrious Principal of the Madras Christian College, in his *Indian Educational Policy*, this private effort has been firmly associated with the policy of what he calls "popular education," that is, widespread elementary instruction among the poor. The various missionary bodies, while establishing great university institutions like the Madras Christian College, Wilson College in Bombay, St. Stephen's College in Delhi, and St. Joseph's Colleges in Bangalore and Trichinopoly, have never lost sight of this prime responsibility of the educationist. And the State aid given to their institutions has been repaid ten-thousandfold by the enlightenment that has been spread by these devoted missionaries, whose resources, let us not forget, have been supplied largely by the disinterested generosity of their supporters in Britain and America. It is well known that, in general, the education given, and the influence exerted, in missionary schools and colleges is of finer and more intimate quality than in Government institutions, just because of



that compound of sympathy, devotion and sacrifice which is called "the missionary spirit," and which is found too seldom among professional educationists. The Church of Scotland Mission has rendered to the State of Jaipur important service of various kinds for very many years. In these days when there is a most gratifying public demand for the spread of girls' education, it is well to remember that Anglo-Vernacular education for girls was an early venture of this Mission, as it was of the Missions in many other places in India. The first hospital for women, a rented house in the bazaar, was started by the missionaries of this Society.

A happy feature of my time in Jaipur was the increasing attraction of the capital as the venue of All-India conferences. Numismatists, educationists, librarians, political scientists—all loved to assemble there for their annual sessions. Of special significance was the P.E.N. (Poets, Essayists and Novelists) Conference, otherwise known as the All-India Writers' Conference, held in October, 1945. It was the first of its kind. Mrs. Sophia Wadia was the heart and soul of the Conference. She took infinite pains to organize it and make it a great success. Distinguished men and women of letters came from all parts of the country and from abroad too. The late Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in the chair. Among others who took part were Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. The late Herman Ould and Mr. E. M. Forster were the eminent representatives of English letters.

Jaipur, like other princely States in Rajputana, had no constitution. The administration was carried on by the Maharaja with the aid of a Council consisting of a prime minister and three ministers. The ministers were appointed by the Maharaja, and held office during his pleasure. The Council was presided over by him and in his absence by the Prime Minister. It seemed to me that it was unwise for the Maharaja to preside and thus associate himself so closely with the administration, as it might bring his name into public controversy when the actions of Government came under review and criticism by the people. The Maharaja agreed, and delegated the office of president to the Prime Minister.



There was no constitutional forum in the State where the representatives of the people could meet the members of Government, express their views on Government's policies and measures and ventilate their grievances. World events and the political agitation in British India inevitably had repercussions in the State, and awakened the people to a consciousness of their rights. Political unrest found expression in demands for democratic institutions and the grant of responsible government. The Praja Mandal was the political organ of the Congress-minded intelligentsia. Timely satisfaction of reasonable aspirations seemed to me the only course if orderly progress, without a too violent break with past traditions, was to be secured. It was a great pleasure to me, therefore, that the Maharaja readily gave sanction to the appointment of a committee to consider reforms in the machinery of government. On the committee were represented all the important social and economic interests of the State. Its President was Mr. S. Hiriannaiya, a former Revenue Commissioner in Mysore, a very able and experienced officer who had practical experience of the working of representative institutions in Mysore.

In the main, the recommendations of the Committee were accepted. Two bodies were established with complementary functions. The larger house was to represent the masses of the people, particularly of the rural areas, whose members could freely convey to the Government their wants and grievances, and also express views on matters on which the Government might choose to consult the house. The members could ask questions and influence the administration, but had no other powers. The smaller house, elected on a more restricted franchise and modelled on the British Indian Legislative Councils, had a non-official majority but was invested with real political power. Subject to the Maharaja's assent, it could pass laws, discuss and vote on the budget, and ask questions and pass resolutions on matters of public interest. Sufficient powers were reserved to the Maharaja for use in an emergency. The Council of Ministers had been recruited chiefly from the official classes and from the sirdars, who were hereditary landlords occupying nearly two-thirds of the area of the State on a kind of feudal tenure. A non-



official was now appointed from among the public men of the State. It was the intention to appoint one or two more, and eventually the Council was to consist entirely of non-official ministers, with the exception of the Chief Minister (who might also be a non-official), holding office, however, during the Maharaja's pleasure.

The reforms were announced in a Proclamation by the Maharaja on January 1, 1944, and were well received by the people. The constitutional progress of the State was thus assured. These measures are an example of that general process of democratization which was going on in many States without violating tradition or endangering efficiency. It would have been well had this gradual and peaceful progress been allowed to continue.

Partly because so many distinguished visitors carried away happy memories of Jaipur, there was an atmosphere of good will which greatly helped me. This does not mean, however, that there was no opposition from interested quarters. For instance, the Hindu Mahasabha was most anxious to get me out of Jaipur, somehow, as soon as possible. It was abhorrent to its creed to see a Muslim occupying a high position in a Hindu State. It made an attempt of this kind when I was Dewan of Mysore but failed. Its efforts in Jaipur were more determined and better organized. Its main accusation against me was very plausible, but foolish, since it could at once be disproved, as indeed it was. It was alleged that I was demolishing or otherwise spoiling Hindu temples, while I was actually repairing and renovating them. Many of them were in a neglected condition, and some were being actually used as gambling dens. (The pink walls of the city and many of the public buildings had not been repaired or colour-washed for over a quarter of a century. When I proceeded to clean them up, a charge of extravagance was levelled against me, though not by the Mahasabha.)

The Mahasabha's campaign of vilification and misrepresentation was carried so far that I considered it necessary to issue a statement challenging the Sabha to prove its allegations, and in the event of failure, in fairness, to withdraw them and tender an apology. I got Dr. Moonje, who was notorious for his



anti-Muslim bias, and Dr. P. Varadarajulu of Salem (both vice-presidents of the Mahasabha) to pay a special visit to Jaipur to investigate matters for themselves. They came and inspected every one of the temples referred to. The Chief Engineer, the late Sir Teja Singh Malik, took them round, and had no difficulty in showing how false the accusations were. While Varadarajulu issued a statement giving the facts, even expressing his satisfaction at what had been done to repair and improve the temples, Moonje, though personally well disposed towards me, refused to associate himself publicly with the statement and even tried to prevent its issue, while admitting privately that the information they had received was false. The agitation soon died down.

The Hindu Mahasabha was responsible also for starting an agitation against the use of Urdu in Government offices. This practice had been in vogue since Moghul days, but it did not occur to the Mahasabha to ask its leading lights why they did not care to make this protest when European and Hindu Dewans were in office. It suited the Sabha to raise the Urdu bogey, more to embarrass and discredit me than to advance the cause of Hindi. The agitation, as is usual in India and Pakistan with movements possessing or acquiring a religious tinge, grew to such proportions that something had to be done about it. The Government decided to recognize Hindi, equally with Urdu, as an official language. A letter which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote to me on the subject gives the view of one of the foremost and sanest political leaders and thinkers that modern India has produced. In the course of the letter he wrote:

You know that I have always been and continue to be an unflinching supporter of Urdu, the common bond of cultural union between Hindus and Mohammedans in Northern India. This does not mean that I am opposed to the study of Sanskrit or Hindi, but surely common sense and respect for history require that we must not be parties to extinguishing a culture which is the result of common effort. I believe in a good many departments of your State Hindi is in vogue, but in a good many others Urdu is in vogue. I cannot understand why there should be this spirit exhibited by Hindus or Mohammedans at this juncture, and I do sincerely hope and trust that you will with your



usual tact be able to deal with this controversy satisfactorily. My sympathies are entirely with you.

I have lately been reading *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri* in Persian. Not being able to get new books from England, I am reviving my knowledge of Persian, and it is a source of delight to me. Whoever may have any grievance against the Moghul rule, the Rajputs have no reason to feel any historical grievance against it. At nearly every page I come across the names of Rajput noblemen of those days who played a considerable part in the development of the Moghul rule and culture, and Jaipur was probably the most prominent. It is a pity to my mind that the present-day politics should blind both Hindus and Mohammedans to historical facts and add to the bitterness that has been caused by political differences. I have never looked upon Urdu as an exclusively Mohammedan language, and I have always treated it as a common heritage, although I know that I have annoyed many of the stalwarts of the Hindu Mahasabha by the expression of this opinion.

My first public speech in Jaipur State, I am pleased to recall, was to students of the Podar College at Nawalgarh. The Podar family, like the Birlas, are great benefactors in education in Jaipur State. A few days later I was addressing the students of the Maharaja's College, Jaipur—the premier college of Rajputana, possessing one of the finest buildings I have seen in India. The university colleges of the State, like nearly all those in Rajputana, were affiliated to Agra University, which had been quite a kindly nurse to them. It was very clear, however, that the region needed a university of its own, expressive of its character and meeting its special needs. Such a university, too, being small, could be a teaching university, not just a supervising and examining body; and ought to be able to reach a particularly high academic standard. It was quite possible for Jaipur State by itself to establish a university, including professional colleges. But obviously the university would be more useful, stronger, and more secure in its standards if it embraced the whole of Rajputana. I decided to consult the other major States, and was very anxious that the University might be created in my time. It was about this scheme that I spoke in the Maharaja's College. There was no doubt as to the response of the audience. The very name, University of Rajputana, was music to their ears.



I invited my old friend, J. C. Rollo, who was then retiring from the Mysore Educational Service, to come and be ready to organize the university. Mr. Rollo, who came out to India as Principal of Pachiappa's College in Madras and later served as Principal of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, is an educationist of eminence. He belonged to that noble band of Englishmen to whom India owes much, not only for advancing the cause of English education in this country, but for the example they set as real teachers and mentors. He was appointed as Special Education Officer in Jaipur, to supervise the Maharaja's College, and later the other Arts and Science colleges in the State. This was just towards the end of a period of great unrest and hostility to Britain, expressed in prolonged students' strikes all over the country, including Mysore and Jaipur; and the Jaipur students were wild with anger at the thought of the arrival of another Englishman. As soon as Mr. Rollo came, I asked him to address them. He was greeted with execration. But in a few minutes he had so completely won over the students that they were his firm friends throughout his stay of more than five years. This was achieved largely by his glowing account of the future University of Rajputana.

That University has now been established, and flourishing, for six years. When I left Jaipur, my successor, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, took up the project with equal zeal. His tact and determination eventually secured the co-operation of the whole of Rajputana, and overcame the very great difficulties, particularly of finance. But I like to think of this as being, in some sense, my university, and it is interesting to note how close it is, in essentials, to the scheme framed at a meeting in Jaipur, in February, 1946, to which I had invited the prime ministers of the States with degree colleges. The Prime Minister of Jodhpur was detained at the last moment, and there was as yet no representative of Udaipur, but the Prime Ministers of Bikaner, Kotah and Alwar were present, with the Education Minister of Bikaner. It was agreed that a University of Rajputana should be established as soon as detailed plans could be completed; that Jaipur should be the headquarters and the seat of the Vice-Chancellor; that the rulers of the States might be Chancellors in rotation, in order



of seniority among States; that the Vice-Chancellor would be appointed by the Governments of the States in consultation; that each professional or technical college should be financed and controlled by the State or private body concerned; that this should be, in some degree, a teaching university, through the work of the Vice-Chancellor and the University Professors and Readers; and that each faculty should have its headquarters in the place considered most suitable.

In all these matters, save one, the final scheme corresponded with this early sketch. But that one was of vital importance. It was eventually decided, despite Mr. Rollo's strenuous representations, that the Vice-Chancellor (except the first) should be *elected* by the Senate. This was part of the mistaken application to the university of the idea of "democracy." On this matter much might be written, but suffice it to say that the corruption which tends to invade Indian universities is made possible by the many types of "election," the most disastrous of which is the election of the Vice-Chancellor. A Vice-Chancellor's powers are great and comprehensive, and if he is to be free to act judicially, and in accordance with his conscience and his academic ideals, he must be independent of the popular vote.

At that first meeting we decided that there should be no Senate! We knew the danger of popular interference in academic affairs, and the senatorial tendency to lower standards. Perhaps we went too far, and one realizes, of course, how desirable it is that the public should feel itself identified with the university. But public interest may be bought too dearly—and may turn all too quickly into self-interest, party-interest, party politics (in a university!), and suitable distribution of benefits. Of all this the election system is the instrument. And the vice-chancellorship is apt to be regarded as the key post, possession of which, if secured by a party, may confer great blessings on all its academic members. This is the tragedy—the alignment, for self-interest's sake, of members of the teaching staff with "popular" representatives, in the furtherance of a party policy quite unrelated to the best interests of the university. I know that the University of Rajputana is making great efforts to prevent this sort of thing. But the door has been opened wide by the election system and



the enrolment of a huge body of "registered graduates." I think, however, that in this University the method of appointing the Vice-Chancellor has now been changed.

The head of the Medical Department was Dr. Fletcher Robinson, F.R.C.S.E. (originally from the U.S.A.), a surgeon of outstanding ability, who was for fifteen years in charge of the General Hospital in Mysore and Principal of the Medical College. Dr. Robert Heilig, of Vienna, was on the staff of that hospital as the First Physician. Both of them migrated with me from Mysore, and both were first-rate men. These two, with Dr. G. N. Sen, F.R.C.S., a Jaipurian, formed a splendid team and brought fame to the hospital. The Public Works Department had as its chief a distinguished engineer, Sir Teja Singh Malik, who had rendered very meritorious service in the building of New Delhi. Nor was Jaipur itself lacking in talent. There were in the various departments really fine officers who could be relied upon for hard and able work.

I had a very painful experience in Jaipur. The incident was so extraordinary that it seems worth relating here. One morning, when I was busy at my office table, a Sikh youth wished to see me. It was my habit not to refuse to see anyone, and he was brought in. He explained quite calmly the object of his visit. He was, he said, in love with a girl, but her father refused to consent to their marriage because the young man had no position. He therefore begged me to come to his rescue and give him a post in the Jaipur Civil Service, for I was his only hope. I explained to him as clearly and sympathetically as I could that it was quite impossible for me to promise this, even if he had been a Jaipurian, which he was not. He said that if I did not help him he must put an end to his life. I did not for a moment imagine that he really meant this, and I argued with him, and told him not to be foolish but to be patient and try to obtain some other appointment. He was an M.A., and had an attractive personality, and might well have succeeded. On seeing that I would not (or could not) help him, he took out a revolver and pointed it at his temple. I naturally became alarmed and begged him not to do such a foolish thing. It was impossible for me to try to wrest the weapon from his hand, because of the broad table between us. He said to



me, "Don't be afraid, I won't harm you," and proceeded very calmly to shoot himself. The bullet pierced his skull and hit the wall beyond. He could easily have shot me before shooting himself. Photographs of the girl were found in his pocket. I am glad to think that I had been patient with him and he was only doing what he had resolved, if unsuccessful, to do.

My last public functions in Jaipur were on the 29th July, 1946, when I laid the foundation-stones of the Bank of Jaipur and the New Club. These ceremonies came in handy for their organizers to strike what is known as the valedictory note. In the addresses presented to me references were made, among other things, to the establishment of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, the place for a popular Minister in the Cabinet, municipal reforms, codification of laws, the contemplated Rajputana University and Jaipur Medical College, various small and large industries, the retransformation of Jaipur into a beautiful city, and the new life in the State.

The Maharaja was anxious that I should stay on, and the public equally so. My Marwari friends and the Praja Mandal, led by Hiralal Sastri, repeatedly requested me not to go. Having received the Hyderabad offer, I felt that I must endeavour to help the Nizam in facing what, one could foresee, would be a difficult, perhaps exciting, future. In any case, I had resolved to say good-bye to Jaipur, acting on the advice of Sadi—*Say "enough" to yourself before others say it to you.* I thought I must go when people were anxious that I should stay!





A State occasion in Hyderabad. Standing fourth from the left is the Princess of Berar, with the Author immediately behind her and H.E. the Nizam. The Prince of Berar is behind, between his father and the British Resident (Mr. Herbert). On the extreme right stands Deen Yar Jung.







*Hyderabad: The Penultimate Phase*

I WENT to Hyderabad as Prime Minister in August 1946. I had been asked to take this appointment eighteen years earlier by the then Resident, Sir William Barton, but I could not make up my mind to leave my Maharaja. The same offer came to me again in Lord Irwin's time, when the Political Secretary intimated that the Viceroy would be pleased if I accepted the office. I was promised the fullest support, and he added that Hyderabad would then cease to be a headache to the Viceroy. With Lord Irwin as Viceroy and a Resident like Sir William Barton, an old and much esteemed friend of mine from our Mysore days, I should have had a very interesting time, with every chance of making a success of the work. But again I could not make up my mind to leave Mysore.

In the British days, Hyderabad was regarded as by far the most important of the Indian States, as they were called. It was referred to as the Nizam's Dominion. With a population of some twenty million, its total annual revenue amounted to over Rs. 22 crores. Its present revenue is much less, the Government of India having taken away, in pursuance of their settled policy towards the former princely States, all its income from the railways and from certain other sources as well. Hyderabad is now very largely dependent on financial aid from the Indian Union, as a result of "federal financial integration," and the Union's grants are inadequate. This is the unhappy position revealed in the State's budget 1952-53. Hyderabad surrendered revenues amounting to Rs. 957 lakhs. It is saved expenditure, under these heads, of Rs. 371 lakhs, and thus suffers a net loss of Rs. 586 lakhs.

The Nizam was the ultimate authority in the State in all administrative and political matters, but only theoretically, for



in reality the control of administration was vested in his Executive Council, which consisted of a Prime Minister appointed by the Nizam, in consultation with and with the approval of the Viceroy, and six to eight members. The Nizam could not overrule his Council. He laughed heartily when I once said to him—"When I tell people that Your Exalted Highness is the most constitutional ruler in India, they do not believe me." It was so as a matter of fact. If the Nizam overruled the Executive Council, the Resident could intervene.

Apart from the natural desire for democratization it cannot be denied that the great majority of the people of Hyderabad, who are Hindus, were happy under their Muslim ruler. The administration was reasonably efficient, and not unpopular. Taxation was comparatively light, and the administration interfered little with the lives of the people.

After I left Mysore, I happened to visit Hyderabad at the invitation of the Nizam, who was, as usual, most kind to me. He told me that if he had known of my resignation in time, he would have offered me the Premiership. It was in July, 1946, that I received a definite offer. Having come to know that there was a possibility of the Nizam appointing me as his Prime Minister, Mr. Jinnah wrote and telegraphed to the Nizam, exhorting him not to appoint me and threatening him with dire consequences if he disregarded this advice. When he came to know, a month or so later, that I was being appointed, he rushed to Hyderabad to see the Nizam, and made a determined effort to stop him from proceeding further. It was common knowledge that Mr. Jinnah behaved rudely to the Nizam, and the latter did not conceal his resentment of such conduct. I do not think they ever met again.

A detailed account of the interview was given me by Nawab Hosh Yar Jung, who was present on the occasion. He told me that Jinnah entered the room smoking a cigar, and seated himself in the chair in front of the Nizam with his legs outstretched. Immediately there was an explosion. H.E.H. exclaimed, "Do you know who I am? Is this the way you behave towards the Nizam of Hyderabad?" The attack was so sudden and unexpected that the visitor was completely flabbergasted; he withdrew his legs, threw away the offending cigar and apologized. But the



storm having burst, apology did not ease the situation. The Nizam swamped him with angry questions. "What do you want? What do you want to tell me?" and so on and so forth. Jinnah sought to say something against the appointment, but before he could utter a few words, the Nizam cried—"I do not want any outside interference in my affairs. I can take care of the interests of my own people. I do not wish to discuss this matter with you."

I was told that "the whole Palace resounded with his angry voice, so much so that the oldest retainers said that they had never seen the Nizam in such a temper before." In between the explosions, Jinnah somehow managed to play his last card by uttering the warning that the Muslim League would never extend any support to Hyderabad, either in its internal affairs or in the Constituent Assembly, if his advice was disregarded. That only made matters worse. "What do I care? You were never helpful. I am not going to ask for your help." Jinnah then said something about constitutional reforms. The Nizam cut him short: "I am a busy person, Mr. Jinnah. I cannot go into details with you. If you wish to discuss the reforms, please go and see the minister in charge. Anything more? No? Then good-bye."

"The interview," wrote the Nawab, "lasted just twenty-five minutes. But this new side of the Nizam's character came as a surprise to all of us. We never thought that he could be so firm and so furious. The Quaid-i-Azam has had the lesson of his life. But we know that this does not end here. He is a very vindictive man, and immediately after the interview, he started long conferences with local leaders."

A word about the Nawab. He is a surprisingly outspoken man—a courtier and yet a critic. This sounds a contradiction in terms, but it is quite true—to the credit of ruler and courtier alike.

The Nizam has admirable as well as eccentric qualities. He leads a life of extreme simplicity, bordering on austerity. He abhors pageantry of any sort. He wears the plainest and cheapest possible clothes, and eats the simplest food and that sparingly. He used a ramshackle car, with a touring body, until it completely broke down and was past repair. It was with difficulty that he could be persuaded to use a new limousine, and it took him some



time to accustom himself to the luxury. He has distributed almost all his accumulated wealth among his sons and daughters and others, creating separate trusts. He has given Rs. 3 crores (over £2 million) to the Osmania University. A very pleasing trait in his character is his forbearance. He may have discarded persons whom he once liked, but no vindictiveness followed his displeasure. His patience and self-control under the gravest provocation are remarkable. Providence has dealt with him harshly, too harshly, What has he not lost?

The only reason, as far as I know, why Jinnah objected to me was that I would not join the Muslim League. He felt that every prominent Muslim in India should be a Leaguer, otherwise he was no Muslim. He mistakenly thought I was closely associated with Congress. As I tried to explain to him, I could not join the League without forswearing my past. Besides the views I held on the fundamental issue of partition, so many of my dearest friends were Hindus that it was quite impossible for me to enter an organization which was so anti-Hindu in its policy and aims.

Even afterwards, when we were no longer on friendly terms, Jinnah expressed to several of my friends his keen disappointment that I would not join him and help him to build up a great Pakistan. In cases where he gained his point he could act magnanimously towards an opponent. A very distinguished person with whom he had fallen out in pre-partition days told me how Jinnah offered to entrust him with the entire responsibility of guiding the foreign policy of Pakistan, as his own knowledge of foreign affairs, he said, was so meagre. My friend remarked that this instance was sufficient to show how magnanimous he could be.

As an English friend wrote to me (July 23, 1946), Jinnah's visit to Hyderabad was most unfortunately timed and its repercussions had not yet died down when my appointment was announced. The Hyderabad Reform Scheme, too, which had just been published, had caused agitation, and the Muslims disliked giving up any part of their monopoly of power, while the Congress-minded Hindus objected that the Reforms did not go nearly far enough. This had been done before my advent, so the Muslims were not able to attribute the responsibility to me.

I went to Hyderabad full of hopes and ambitions. Soon after



taking charge, I broadcast a message to the people of Hyderabad, the closing sentences of which may be quoted:

Hyderabad is a very big city. It has the makings of a great city, in the noblest sense. It can well become a renowned centre of Eastern culture and civilization, of intellectual activity and of common harmony in this country of perpetual discord. And this State has vast potentialities. It is capable of becoming a very powerful element in the India of the future, and of playing a great part in the building of it. But such glory is not to be had for the asking. It will need, if I may speak with the utmost candour, an effort of a kind which has never before been made by the people of Hyderabad. There is no hope of anything worth while unless we are all determined to purify this place of personal and party strife.

I hope and pray that we may above all desire unity and consistently seek it, and that working together in a spirit of brotherhood, we may succeed in achieving for Hyderabad that moral and material pre-eminence which is her due.

Soon after I arrived at Hyderabad, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to me expressing disappointment with the political reforms that had just been announced—

Representatives from Hyderabad have seen me. They are Shri Kashinath Vaidya and Swami Ramanand Tirath. They have discussed with me the so-called reforms contemplated in the State. I have studied them somewhat as they appeared in the Press. The reforms seem to be only so-called. To me they appear to be a step backward rather than forward. I do not know that you can do much to alter them, but I wonder why you cannot scrap them altogether. The least that any State can do at this time is to recognize the status and influence of the States Peoples' Conference, of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is President, and secure its endorsement before proceeding with any popular measure. This ensures smooth passage for any such thing.

Rajkumari has already drawn your attention to Shrimati Padmaja Naidu's pamphlet on political atrocities in some of the Hyderabad villages. I would like you to enlighten me on these two points.

I am sorry to have to worry you when you have just begun your new career.

I replied:

I write to thank you very much for your letter. As you know, I



have just taken charge, and am busy studying the many problems with which the State is confronted, one of them being the reforms. These, I realize, are unsatisfactory in several respects, but I feel that it is quite possible to remove these defects and bring the reforms into line in all essential respects with those in Mysore, Baroda, Jaipur or elsewhere. Hyderabad has its peculiar problems, and these have to be solved in its own way. If there is one thing more than another which has pleased me it is the liberal attitude of His Exalted Highness towards constitutional changes. I was particularly pleased to notice how fair he wants to be in dealing with the communal question. Such being his attitude, I have every reason to hope that the progress of Hyderabad in the constitutional as in other fields—education, industries, public health, etc.—will be as gratifying as it will be rapid in the near future. I hope, therefore, the world will give us a little time to make a start and then see how far we have been successful.

It is my intention to send for the various groups and discuss the reforms with them. Then, if they agree, summon a joint meeting and decide on the changes to be made.

I personally would prefer this course, rather than scrap the reforms altogether and start afresh. The latter course would involve considerable delay. It would take a Committee two years, if not more, to collect evidence and submit its report, as I know from my experience both in Mysore and Jaipur. I cannot afford to wait so long, nor is it desirable from the public point of view, and so I am anxious to get a move on with as little delay as possible. No constitution and no arrangement is either perfect or permanent. Changes can always be made as we go along. To make a beginning is really the important thing.

You may be sure that I shall try always to practise democracy in this singularly undemocratic age, and will do all I can to further the interests of the people and establish constitutional government in the State. I can only hope that you will be satisfied with this assurance from me and rely upon me to do all that is possible or advisable in present circumstances to achieve our common aim.

He was not satisfied, however, and again insisted that any "reforms" should be such as met the wishes of the States Peoples' Conference, a Congress organization.

A demonstration was staged by the students of Hyderabad. I forget the exact date or what the immediate provocation for it was. The procession consisted of some 5,000 youths from the



different colleges and schools in the city. The Commissioner of Police had orders from the Police Member of Government not to allow the procession to pass beyond a certain point. I was not aware that such an order had been given. When I rang up the Police Commissioner to ask what was happening, he told me that the procession was moving towards the city, and that he was going to stop it at a certain point, as ordered by my colleague. I told him that he should do nothing of the kind, but let the demonstrators take as long a walk as they pleased, unless they became too rowdy. If they were left alone, in the blazing mid-day sun, they would soon tire. It happened as I had expected, and the procession soon petered out. No one was more pleased than the Police Commissioner himself. He could not thank me enough, remarking that but for my decision, an ugly situation would have arisen, resulting possibly in bloodshed. Everything passed off peacefully and the incident was soon forgotten. The Commissioner of Police was Nawab Deen Yar Jung, who figured so prominently in the crisis which overtook Hyderabad a year or so later. A clever man, he enjoyed the confidence of the Nizam, and was, towards the end, the most powerful man in the place. Unfortunately, however, he failed the Nizam in his extremity.

The Hyderabad State had presented a most pleasing spectacle of Hindu-Muslim unity in the truest sense. Its social and official life was an amalgam of Hindu-Muslim culture. The Nizam had no more loyal and devoted nobleman in his dominion than the late Maharaj Sir Kishen Pershad, scion of an ancient Hindu family, a hereditary Peshwa or leader who took precedence of the Prime Minister. Kishen Pershad was himself the Prime Minister for some years. He exemplified the best type of Hindu-Muslim culture. It was often difficult for me, in Hyderabad, to make out whether a person was a Muslim or a Hindu. They dressed so much alike, and Urdu was their common tongue. I did not like to ask a visitor if he was a Hindu or a Muslim, but tried to find this out by asking his name.

I was anxious to establish an oriental research institute in Hyderabad. The State offers special facilities for work of this nature, being the home of several languages and cultures—Telugu, Mahratti, Kannada, Urdu and (to a lesser extent) Persian.



I began by sending a note to my colleagues in the Cabinet, but had no time to proceed further. I hope that the scheme may yet be taken up by the authorities concerned and carried out for the benefit of the whole country. It would strike the imagination of the public and receive the widest support. A nation can truly live only if it derives sustenance from its roots in the past; and if, as in the case of India, that past is a rich one, so much the more fortunate are its people.

When at headquarters, I set apart two mornings in the week for interviews with all and sundry, as I had done in Mysore and also in Jaipur. It was a very taxing duty, as can easily be imagined—seeing dozens of people, each with his request or grievance. But it was worth while. It satisfied the public as nothing else could, and I know of no better method of checking corruption among officials. In Mysore, while I was the head of the administration, corruption was practically non-existent. In Jaipur, too, it had come under control. In Hyderabad, people began to feel that a new freedom had dawned upon them, and officials were much more courteous and considerate to the public than before. All this was a direct result of the head of the administration being so easily accessible to the public. I saw from two to three hundred people on each of the two mornings. A report reached the Nizam's ears that his Prime Minister was busy holding "darbars" twice a week in his office! I assured him that I was not seeking self-aggrandizement but was toiling for him and his people.

My weekly inspection visits to the city (following my practice in Mysore and Jaipur) were another feature of the administration, and produced excellent results. In Hyderabad, as in Jaipur, I used a big car in order to take four or five officers with me. The public were quite pleased—and astonished when they saw how quickly things began to move. I derived much pleasure from this sort of work—visiting the poorer people in their homes, ascertaining their wants and trying to meet them without delay.

This practice of close contact with the people was referred to in an article in *The Bombay Chronicle* of December 30, 1946:

Just four months ago Sir Mirza Ismail took over the reins of office in Hyderabad from the Nawab of Chhattari. Yes, it is only four months.



Yet within this very short period he has brought about a silent revolution in the administration. It has come almost unknown. There is a change everywhere. People have begun to take a live interest in their Government. Their President is seen working day in and day out animated with the single thought of ameliorating their economic condition. Hindus and Muslims find that he is their true friend. There is nothing of the communalist in him.

Formerly it was difficult, almost impossible, for the common man to see the Prime Minister, who lived in a secluded palace. Gone are those days. Now a democrat is enthroned in the seat of power. On every Saturday men and women go to see their President. It is a vast mass of humanity surging forward to see "Mirza Saheb." Everyone has a story to tell. It is about some executive order, or a complaint against some officer. Some relate their family troubles. But to everyone the Prime Minister listens, and each man returns home satisfied and happy. No single act of the Prime Minister has done so much to endear him to the people as this.

What an enormous amount of work there was to be done in Hyderabad, and what a wonderful country it could have become! This hope, this ambition, was not destined to be fulfilled. Although I was there for only ten months, I am not sorry I went, nor that I left so soon. With the withdrawal of British control, I found, as I had anticipated, that it was impossible to stay. The Nizam was bent upon independence. Even more so were that wretched band of foolish Muslims called the Ittehad-ul-Muslameens. A few sentences from an intercepted Press telegram sent to the Ittehad paper in Hyderabad will show what a poisonous lot of people I had to deal with. They were bent upon moving heaven and earth to see me out of Hyderabad:

While Muslims of India are boycotting the so-called Constituent Assembly, which has lost all its importance as constitution-making body and has been reduced to the position of all-India Congress committee, Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister, himself a Muslim and Chief of Muslim Dominion of Hyderabad, is hobnobbing with Congress leaders in lobbies of Constituent Assembly almost every day. Sir Mirza is seen in corridors flirting with Congress members and greeting them with folded hands like Hindus. Sometimes he was heard saying "namesthe" or "namaskaram." He is also believed to have said that the Hindus, being in a great majority, would rule in the long run despite all difficulties.



I read the telegram to the Nizam and to the Executive Council also, as a typical example of the false and malicious propaganda that was being carried on against me by the Ittehad. Sir Arthur Lothian, the Resident, was right when he warned me against the activities of this subversive organization, and said that, unless it was suppressed effectively, it would bring about the downfall of the State. I had known Sir Arthur from our Mysore days, when he was secretary to the Resident, and again in Rajputana when he was Agent to the Governor-General and I Prime Minister of Jaipur. He was a most popular and highly respected officer of the Political Department.

I found that even senior officers of the State—many of them—had lost their heads. I should have been a thorn in the flesh of all these people. So, when I came to Bangalore for the summer recess, I reviewed the position and came to the conclusion that I should not go back to Hyderabad. I had also a suspicion that the Nizam would not regret my departure. I wrote on May 15, 1947:

It is with the deepest regret that I have to ask Your Exalted Highness to relieve me of the high office with which you have been pleased to entrust me.

At a time which is, perhaps, the most critical the Dominion will ever know, I came to Hyderabad at Your Exalted Highness's invitation, full of enthusiasm and with deep attachment to Your Exalted Highness's person and dynasty. I was determined to devote my lifelong experience and the capabilities which God has given me to the right solution of the many problems with which the future of the Dominion is beset. In pursuit of this earnest desire, I had planned many things which, in the fullness of time, would have assuredly contributed to the greatness and glory of Hyderabad and to the happiness and prosperity of your people. I could only succeed in such a task if I were assured of Your Exalted Highness's full support and sympathy.

I have had the misfortune to find myself opposed at every turn by a certain section of the local Mussalmans, who, in my opinion, are set on a course that is suicidal to the State. I have not taken a single step that has been detrimental to their real interests. On the other hand, I have done all that is humanly possible to serve them, but in vain. At the instigation of arch-conspirators who have other ends to serve, they have carried on a vigorous and calculated campaign of vilification against me.



It has been my further misfortune to find that I have lost the confidence of Your Exalted Highness. The intrigues and agitations to which I refer are, I firmly believe, directed as much against the interests of Your Exalted Highness as against myself. But, while a word from you would have stopped the campaign at once, you have maintained silence, and the agitators have given the impression that they enjoy Your Exalted Highness's goodwill and patronage.

Only recently, I wrote to Your Exalted Highness from Berar saying that unless Your Exalted Highness could give me your fullest confidence and support it would not be possible for me to carry on.

As that support has not been forthcoming, there is no alternative for me but to ask to be relieved. In spite of the sad memories of my stay in Hyderabad, I shall always pray that God, in His mercy, may protect the Asafjah Crown from the dangers that I see looming ahead.

Sir Sultan Ahmed, a veteran statesman of India and for some time an adviser to the Nizam, wrote in an article contributed to *The Indian Nation*:

Sir Mirza Ismail went to Hyderabad full of hopes and ambitions and started remarkably well. With his broad outlook, catholic liberalism, inherent culture, and vast State administrative experience, he was a most appropriate choice, and was the one man who could have stabilized the administration, and brought about an understanding between the two communities. He did not take long to show his anxiety to be fair and just to all communities and to purge the administration of reputed corruption. He also got the full support of His Exalted Highness the Nizam in the beginning, but unfortunately the extreme Muslim opposition, represented by the Ittehad, hardened, and the leading part in this opposition was played by Moin Nawaz Jung and Syed Taqiuddin, a Bihari Secretary in the Government of Hyderabad who had been dismissed by Sir Mirza. It was suspected that the opposition was also receiving great financial support from Mir Laiq Ali, the brother-in-law of Moin Nawaz Jung.

One Qasim Razvi, a pleader by profession, by this time had made tremendous headway to securing for himself the leadership of the Ittehad. Short in stature, a man of mediocre ability, a good speaker, of low mentality, with no political training or vision, with none to curb his extremism, he soon emerged, supported by Mir Laiq Ali, Moin Nawaz Jung and Taqiuddin, as the paramount leader of his party. He also exploited to the full the interference by Sir Mirza with vested interests, and carried to the royal palace, through his adherents, fancy



stories about the dissatisfaction of the Muslims with Sir Mirza's administration. Sir Mirza could stand no nonsense, and finding that he was not getting the support which he expected and deserved from the Nizam, he left for Bangalore and never returned afterwards. Sir Mirza's exit put the seal on the doom of Hyderabad. The Nawab of Chhatari was again summoned by the Nizam, and returned to Hyderabad.



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*Hyderabad: The End of a Dynasty*

WHEN I saw that the Hyderabad situation was becoming critical, I wrote to the Nizam (May 1, 1948):

In ordinary circumstances, I should have hesitated to write to Your Exalted Highness, but the present circumstances are such that I feel I must.

I cannot forget that Your Exalted Highness has been uniformly kind to me all these many years that you have known me. You were kind to me even when you did not approve of all that I was doing as your Prime Minister, as I came to know later. It is, therefore, a duty which I owe to Your Exalted Highness that I should write to you at a time when the fate of Hyderabad is hanging in the balance.

During his recent visit to Bangalore, I had a talk with Lord Mountbatten about Hyderabad. I made some suggestions to him which he seemed to appreciate. May I, likewise, make just one suggestion for Your Exalted Highness's serious consideration. My suggestion is simply that Your Exalted Highness should invite Lord Mountbatten to Hyderabad and use the opportunity for discussing the Hyderabad question with him. His advice at this most critical juncture would be of the greatest value to you. Lord Mountbatten is a sincere well-wisher of Your Exalted Highness. Prudence dictates that advantage should be taken of his presence in India as the Governor-General to come to a friendly understanding with the Government of India. It is quite possible, as I explained to His Excellency, to arrive at a settlement satisfactory to both parties.

The Governor-General has visited every important State in India barring Hyderabad. His visit cannot possibly do any harm but will, in all probability, do incalculable good.

I hope that Your Exalted Highness will be pleased to act upon my suggestion, whatever anybody might say, without any hesitation and without further loss of time. Many in India are bent upon reducing Hyderabad to the position of other States. Let us not play into their hands.



This letter began a correspondence which went on until the bitter end. The Nizam asked for more particulars of my conversation with Lord Mountbatten, at the same time telling me, quite frankly, that Hyderabad was not ready to give up its "historic position and entity." In reply I wrote on May 3, telling him that my suggestion to Lord Mountbatten was that he should take the earliest opportunity of visiting Hyderabad and meeting the Nizam. I said that I had no doubt that his advice would be appreciated by the Nizam, who knew that he was a good friend to him and to Hyderabad. His reply was that he would very much like to go to Hyderabad, but there were difficulties in the way. He was doubtful if his Government would approve of his going there, lest it should be misconstrued by the public as an attempt at "appeasement." Furthermore, supposing the Nizam did not accept his advice, what then? His position would become awkward. I gave the appropriate answers to clear his doubts, and in the end he told me that he would see if he could possibly pay a visit. If the Nizam invited him, his hands would be strengthened and he might be able to come. His attitude towards the questions of "accession" and "responsible Government," as I explained the position to him, appeared to be quite reasonable. I had emphasized that Hyderabad should not be treated like other States, but be given a special position in the Indian Union. He appreciated this point of view. I entirely agreed with the Nizam that Hyderabad's historic position, as a separate entity, should be maintained and safeguarded. I was confident that my proposals would ensure this, if we could get the Government of India to agree to them. This was where Lord Mountbatten's help was so necessary.

The Nizam replied stating that Lord Mountbatten had said "the same thing to us some time ago" when invited to visit Hyderabad before his departure from India in June. The Nizam thought there was still "a chance of his coming here, provided some satisfactory settlement is brought about between Hyderabad and the Indian Union first."

I wrote again, that in my view the visit was necessary in order to bring about a settlement. The Nizam renewed his



invitation, but Lord Mountbatten was unable to accept it. I wrote to the Nizam once more:

I had sincerely hoped that Lord Mountbatten would be able to come in June. Personally, I think the sooner he can come the better for all concerned. I shall also write to him and urge him to visit Hyderabad as early as he can conveniently do so. Events are moving so fast in India that we must not allow any more time to be lost.

I wrote to the Governor-General, urging him to go to Hyderabad:

The earlier the better. I am full of hopes that you will be able to solve this intricate problem in a manner satisfactory to all concerned once you meet the Nizam. . . . Your Excellency must not leave India without the satisfaction of having disposed of this matter amicably. I am ready to do my humble best.

Lord Mountbatten replied that it was impossible for him to visit Hyderabad. The situation, as it stood, was that he had invited the Nizam to come to Delhi, and that he had refused and sent him a counter-invitation to visit Hyderabad. Lord Mountbatten was afraid that there would be very little value in his going to Hyderabad. A settlement was much less likely to be reached there than in Delhi. For if the Nizam were to go to Delhi, Lord Mountbatten would be able to obtain his Government's permission for each step he took towards meeting him, and the Nizam could meet the Prime Minister with him. If he were to go to Hyderabad, he would be unable, as constitutional Governor-General away from his Government, to depart from the brief he was given before departure. He had explained this to the Hyderabad Agent-General at Delhi, who saw the point. Would I be prepared to advise the Nizam to change his mind and go to Delhi

I replied that I wished the Nizam had invited His Excellency when I urged him to do so, instead of waiting so long. If he had, Lord Mountbatten might not, perhaps, have been tempted to invite him and the present complication might not have arisen. For one could understand, and even appreciate, the Nizam's reluctance to accept the Governor-General's invitation. He would have lost heavily in prestige if he had gone to Delhi in



response to the invitation (or summons as it would have been called), whereas the Governor-General's visit would have been regarded as something quite natural, like his visiting so many other States. Moreover (this was an important point), it would have been more politic, from the standpoint of the Government of India, not to treat Hyderabad differently by deliberately avoiding a visit to it, as if it were a foreign country with which the Governor-General had no concern. It was very desirable, necessary indeed, that the Governor-General should meet the Nizam of Hyderabad and give him, as only he could have done, a view of his mind, and thus pave the way for a settlement, which would, in all probability, have resulted from such an interview. Much as I was anxious that he and the Nizam should meet, I did not know how I could advise the latter to go to Delhi now. Nor could I presume to suggest to His Excellency to go to Hyderabad, although I still felt that even now it would be easier for him to go there than for the Nizam to come to Delhi.

The Nizam has to be told firmly and in unequivocal terms—and this is best done by one of your personal prestige and official position—that he must turn over a new leaf, cease to be an autocrat and become a constitutional ruler, and get out of the clutches of the Ittehad and its razakars in his own interests. I have tried to put this to him in plain terms and as tactfully as possible, but that is not sufficient. His is a curious mentality. Your Excellency could have explained the position in a more forceful and convincing manner, and heard his views, and in this way you would have, as I have said, *prepared* the ground for a settlement, leaving the details to be settled by others. I do not think I need say more.

I wrote once again to the Nizam on the 20th May that I was much concerned to hear that the relations between the Indian Union and Hyderabad had reached breaking-point. There should be a change in the attitude of Hyderabad before it was too late. I did not know how far His Exalted Highness's advisers were keeping him informed of the latest developments both in the Indian Union and in Hyderabad. It was obvious to any discerning observer that, unless Hyderabad displayed a more friendly and co-operative attitude towards the Indian Government, strong



action would be taken against her, the consequences of which would be very serious indeed. I went on to say:

May I, therefore, implore Your Exalted Highness, in all earnestness, to come to a friendly understanding with the Union Government and avoid a clash. It is not too late even now to settle the differences with them in a manner both honourable and satisfactory to Hyderabad. It is a thousand pities that so many golden opportunities of placing Your Exalted Highness's Dominion in a strong and secure position have been lost, and, instead, a serious situation has been allowed to develop, threatening the very existence of the Dominion.

The Nizam telegraphed saying that the subject was under consideration, and if necessary he might see me. He suggested that I might go to Delhi and see the Governor-General and the Prime Minister. He left this, however, entirely to my discretion. I replied that I was quite willing to go, but before I did so, it was necessary that I should have a talk with him and his Prime Minister, and I must also satisfy myself that the stand taken by Hyderabad was perfectly sound and reasonable.

I did not see why a satisfactory solution could not be found, assuming, of course, that both sides were prepared to make reasonable concessions to each other. Hyderabad had to maintain its own status, and there seemed no reason to suppose that the Government of India would refuse to recognize its special position, and show every possible consideration to it in this as in other matters. They would have much to gain if, like the British Government in the past, they could claim the Nizam as their "Faithful Ally" and treat him as such.

I was anxious that the Nizam should have a personal interview with Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Agent-General of India. But the Nizam would not or could not do this. He saw him when it was too late, after the débâcle. Mr. Munshi, who, I knew, was really anxious to help him, would have given him sound advice and tried to save him from his ignorant and foolish advisers.

Nor could the Nizam have had a better adviser or one more anxious to promote his interests than Sir Walter Monckton (now U.K. Minister of Labour and National Service). He had long been connected with the State as its Legal and Constitutional Adviser. Sir Walter never doubted that Hyderabad would have



to be in some measure integrated with the Dominion which surrounds it, and he had hoped that he could reach an agreement upon some special form adapted to the peculiarities of Hyderabad. Moreover, he thought that, in view of the economic blockade, the terms which, with Lord Mountbatten's help, they had persuaded the Indian Government to offer, though naturally not wholly satisfactory, were good enough to make it wise for the Nizam to accept them. But sinister influences prevented him from achieving his aims.

The Nizam sent me a copy of Mr. R. A. Butler's statement in Parliament on Hyderabad on May 4, 1948. I replied:

I have seen Mr. Butler's reference to Hyderabad, as also Mr. Attlee's. In my opinion, the latter's comment is more helpful to Hyderabad. The views of British statesmen, however, do not possess the same value as before; they can be easily brushed aside by the Government of India. Such statements have only a limited value to us in present conditions, and we must not attach too much importance to them. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that we should strengthen our position in other ways. The support of your Hindu subjects should be secured first. This is the first essential. Without it, it will be impossible to resist the demands of the Government of India with any hope of success.

I added that the Ittehad people should help in creating a peaceful and friendly atmosphere. We must win the support of the Hindus by offering them reasonably fair and attractive terms.

I went to Delhi on the 28th July. Meanwhile, Lord Mountbatten had left, and a new Governor-General, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, had taken his place. He is one of our wisest political leaders, and a statesman widely respected for his independence of judgment and integrity of character. He too was most friendly and most anxious to help the Nizam. Before going to Delhi, I wrote to the Nizam:

I am afraid at present the position of Hyderabad is not what it was before. It has been considerably weakened by recent events. This is Your Exalted Highness's last chance. If we fail this time Hyderabad will have to face an armed invasion with all its disastrous consequences. As far as I can foresee, Delhi will not go beyond the draft agreement recommended by both Lord Mountbatten and Monckton, and accepted by Hyderabad in most essentials.



On the 26th of July, a couple of days before I left Bangalore for Delhi, I wrote again to him:

I heard on the All-India radio this morning that Hyderabad proposes to plead its case before the United Nations at Lake Success. I do not know how much truth there is in this report. I hope there is none. It would do the greatest harm to Hyderabad if any such move has been made or is proposed to be made. I would implore Your Exalted Highness, in all earnestness, not to approve of such a proposal, which I can only characterize as short-sighted and unwise in the extreme.

The Nizam stated, in reply, that the matter was under consideration and "meant to be taken in hand when no more hopes remain of an honourable and satisfactory settlement." This is what Mir Laik Ali had to say on this in his address to the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly:

We have weighed up every factor and come to the conclusion that in order to prevent the flow of human blood and loss of human life any step is worth taking. . . . Hyderabad has decided to refer its case to the United Nations in the hope that that body may be able to find a peaceful solution of the deadlock. (He made an announcement regarding the personnel of the Hyderabad delegation to U.N., reviewed "the four months of stress and strain," and referred to the Government of India.) They may coerce us. They may subject us to any ordeals. They may overrun us by their military strength. We cannot give up our stand. We shall not give up our freedom. Hyderabad has emerged from many bitter trials more hopeful, more self-reliant, more confident and hardened, morally and materially stronger and better organized, and can look forward to the future with greater optimism than ever before.

Brave words these! In the meantime, the Government of India's attitude had stiffened, and they did not wish to enter into any negotiations unless the following conditions were fulfilled:

The Razakars to be immediately and completely disbanded.  
Full responsible government to be established.  
Complete peace to be brought about.  
The existing Cabinet to be changed.

On hearing of my intended visit to Delhi, Mr. Rajagopalachari



very kindly asked me to stay with him at Government House. I was there for three days, and then moved to the Nizam's palace. I telegraphed to the Nizam from Delhi on the 29th July that the position was very serious and might even affect his dynasty. It was most important and urgent that Mir Laik Ali should fly to Delhi immediately, as it was impossible for me to make any progress without his co-operation. Mir Laik Ali would not come. Instead, he had the following statement broadcast over the Hyderabad radio:

Enquiries in official quarters reveal that Sir Mirza Ismail's recent visit to Delhi has no bearing on the political situation of Hyderabad. An official spokesman said that there is no truth in the reports published that Sir Mirza had gone to Delhi at the instance of His Exalted Highness for some particular purpose. It was quite possible that he may have gone there in a personal capacity. He added that the Prime Minister, Mir Laik Ali, would not proceed to Delhi unless he was assured of a settlement on honourable terms.

It was the usual story of small men in high places, which inevitably spells disaster in the end. I wrote to the Nizam expressing my keen disappointment and regret that he did not send Mir Laik Ali to Delhi. The only course then left to me was to send Zain Yar Jung to Hyderabad, so that he could explain more fully than I could in a letter what the position was in Delhi. I told the Nizam that it was not an easy task for me to get the ministers in New Delhi to listen to what I had to say. Their patience, they said, was quite exhausted, and they insisted on acting. I added that it would be a great mistake to think that any help could come to Hyderabad from Pakistan or from any other quarter, such as the United Nations. I gave the Nizam the conclusions that I had drawn from my talks in Delhi, which might be summarized as follows:

The Government of India would insist on Hyderabad acceding to the Union immediately as other States had done. It did not wish to make any distinction in favour of Hyderabad. It had no confidence in the present ministry and would insist upon a change. The only way to prevent a catastrophe was the immediate acceptance of the draft agreement rejected by His Exalted Highness on the advice of his Council.



It would need much persuasion on my part to get the Government of India to keep the draft agreement open for acceptance. I could only say that I would do my best. If Mir Laik Ali had come with authority to sign the agreement on behalf of His Exalted Highness, it would have helped greatly. The recent debate in the Commons had in no way strengthened Hyderabad's position. On the contrary, it had weakened it.

I concluded with these words. "I am sorry I am obliged to write in this strain. But I am anxious that Your Exalted Highness should be placed in full possession of the actual facts. It is for Your Exalted Highness now to accept or reject my advice. In the former case, I shall rejoice, for your position will remain intact and will even be strengthened, and the dynasty will be perpetuated in all its glory; in the latter case, I can only grieve. May Hazrath Amir and Imam Hussain, of both of whom Your Exalted Highness is such a sincere devotee, guide you, is my fervent prayer."

The Nizam sent a telegram stating that he was anxious to see me and asking me to go to Hyderabad. Mr. Munshi, whom I consulted, advised me to go. But I was not sure how the Ittehad people would behave, and decided against going. I wrote to the Nizam on August 5th:

This letter is in continuation of my telegram of yesterday, reading as follows: "I hope Your Exalted Highness will forgive me if I do not come to Hyderabad just now. I shall explain fully in letter reasons against my coming. I have come to this conclusion much against my keen desire to pay my respects to Your Exalted Highness, solely in your own interests and in order to facilitate a settlement. I pray again for forgiveness."

As Zain Yar Jung will explain, the Ministers here, who have made definite statements in public, are saying that the draft agreement is not to be considered any longer; that it should be scrapped and that Hyderabad should accept the instrument of accession as other States have done.

I have told them that this was out of the question and the draft agreement once accepted by the Government of India should not be discarded, and if Your Exalted Highness, on reviewing the position, is now inclined to accept the agreement, they should raise no objection but on the contrary should be pleased.

Zain Yar Jung and I had a long talk with Mr. V. P. Menon this



morning. His view is that the draft agreement should no longer be considered. The only course is to accede. The Government of India are not prepared to deal with Hyderabad on any other basis. They think that Your Exalted Highness is quite powerless to deal with the Ittehad or even with the present ministry, which is doing what it likes regardless of your wishes. It is impossible for Your Exalted Highness, they say, to control the situation without external aid. Your own personal safety and the security of the State are involved and have to be safeguarded.

In these circumstances, my humble suggestion to Your Exalted Highness is that there should not be the least delay, on Your Exalted Highness's part, in signing the agreement and confronting the Government of India with it. Let the responsibility for rejecting it be theirs. It is necessary that the announcement of the settlement should be made before the Assembly meets on the 9th. Therefore, I beg Your Exalted Highness, most respectfully and most earnestly, to accept my suggestion and sign the agreement. I assure Your Exalted Highness that it is, in the circumstances, quite a satisfactory one from your point of view, as Mr. Attlee has stated in Parliament. I am most anxious that Your Exalted Highness should not miss this opportunity of coming to a settlement. Your position will become much more difficult and precarious if no such settlement is arrived at. I have absolutely no doubt about this, whatever Mir Laik Ali may say. I am sure he is quite wrong, and if he goes on pressing his points—almost all of which are really of no great importance—he will be doing the greatest disservice to Your Exalted Highness. I wish I could have explained all this to him in person. Your Exalted Highness will have to choose between his advice and mine. I claim to be a man of much greater experience in such matters, and I have also consulted several high-placed men here, and they all are unanimous in their view that the agreement should be accepted and a disagreeable chapter closed without further delay.

I feel that Your Exalted Highness will find it easier if your decision is announced as your own deeply considered one. Let not the Ittehad say that I prevailed upon Your Exalted Highness to accept the agreement. If I am not there, they will not be able to stage a demonstration against the decision, and they will accept it more quietly as an accomplished fact and as coming from yourself. I hope that Your Exalted Highness will appreciate this point of view, act, and act quickly. We cannot afford to lose any more time. I did not know that matters had gone so far in Hyderabad and even the personal safety of Your Exalted



Highness was involved. We cannot afford to take any risks in such a matter.

I wrote also to Mir Laik Ali, warning him to settle the matter quickly and requesting him again to come to Delhi. He did not even acknowledge my letter.

Throughout our correspondence the Nizam never displayed the slightest sign of irritation with me. On the contrary he wrote uniformly kind letters, expressing appreciation of my efforts, and assuring me of his confidence. "No matter what ill-disposed people here may say against you," he wrote, and reminded me of the Persian saying, "The moon shines and the dogs bark."

I wrote once more to the Nizam on the 17th August, and mentioned for his information that I had taken care to make it perfectly clear to the authorities in New Delhi that, although I went there at the Nizam's instance, I was not to be regarded as his representative come to negotiate with them on his behalf. I was no more his representative than that of the Government of India. I had also told them that

I had received no instructions whatsoever from His Exalted Highness as to what I should say or not say to them. I was acting entirely in my individual capacity, and my only object in going to Delhi was to study the question on the spot and consult those who, I thought, were worth consulting, and then offer my suggestions to both parties. Accordingly, I offered my advice to His Exalted Highness for what it was worth. I also said what I had to say to the Government of India. I did not act as a mediator either, but as a friend of both, interested, as a citizen of India, in bringing them together and avoiding a clash. "I still adhere to the proposals I made to Your Exalted Highness after much consideration in my numerous letters and telegrams from New Delhi. How I wish they had been accepted and acted upon!"

If I could have met Mir Laik Ali, I would have explained to him my reasons for making these proposals. It was a matter of sincere regret to me that I had no opportunity of meeting either the Nizam or the Prime Minister. I was anxious that the Nizam should meet Mr. Munshi. No harm could have resulted from this and possibly much good. His Exalted Highness was not bound to say anything to him, but would at least have heard what he had to say. I had no doubt that this would have created a friendly atmosphere and have had a good



effect. After all, he was the accredited representative of the Government of India at the Nizam's Court and was entitled to be seen by him occasionally. I did not regret having gone to Delhi. I could not be a mere spectator when the Nizam was in the midst of a grave crisis. I found the top men quite friendly to Hyderabad in spite of all that had happened. I thought Delhi's attitude was quite understandable. My "gila"<sup>1</sup> was not with them but with Hyderabad for having turned down all my proposals.

I issued the following statement, and left New Delhi (August 8, 1948):

I feel I owe it to the country and to myself to explain what I have been endeavouring to do in New Delhi these past ten days, and what has happened. My position has been misconstrued in some quarters.

Being concerned about the steady deterioration in relations between India and Hyderabad, with its implicit risk of widespread strife, I considered that I would be lacking in patriotism if I did not use such influence as I have to seek to bring about a rapprochement between H.E.H. the Nizam and the Government of India, the more so as it seemed to me that the points of difference between them which had prevented the signing of the Draft Agreement of June 17 were quite trivial. Having, therefore, obtained the Nizam's authority for coming to Delhi and using my good offices in this matter, I ventured to go further and to offer my advice not merely to the Nizam but also to the Government of India.

Unfortunately, my efforts have been nullified by the influence of extremist elements in Hyderabad, more particularly by the Ittehad-ul-Muslameen members of the Council, who prevailed upon H.E.H. to reject my advice. I feel sure that, left to himself, the Nizam would have realized the un wisdom of continuing this sterile strife with the Indian Union and would have come to terms with it.

In my view, all talk of Hyderabad "independence," in the internationally used sense of the term, is academic. Hyderabad has already agreed to hand over control of its Communications, Defence and Foreign Relations to the Indian Union, and therefore its "independence" must be restricted to internal autonomy. This last, I am sure, would not be challenged by those in authority in India, and therefore there should be no hesitancy on the part of His Exalted Highness in signing the Draft Agreement. Discouraged as I am by the failure of my present mission, I remain convinced that India and Hyderabad

<sup>1</sup> *Gila* (Persian)—a friendly complaint.



can and must settle their differences amicably, and I appeal to my compatriots to work earnestly to this end. Patience and more patience will be needed on the part of the Government of India if this problem is to be solved, as it must, without bloodshed.

As Lord Mountbatten said at a reception held by the East India Association in London on June 29, 1948, it was heart-breaking to Sir Walter Monckton and to himself that the proposals they jointly worked out were not accepted, and they were still hoping and praying that a peaceful solution would be found.

The following two letters to the Nizam were written after I returned to Bangalore from New Delhi:

August 27, 1948.

I received yesterday Your Exalted Highness's two letters, both dated the 23rd August. I am very glad Your Exalted Highness put your foot down and did not allow our correspondence to be published.

I know the Ittehad people dislike me very much; they dread the possibility of my coming back as P.M. They want to prevent it by all means in their power. So, if Your Exalted Highness were to make it known to them and to Mir Laik Ali that I have no such desire and that Your Exalted Highness, too, has no such intention, they would feel more comfortable and, perhaps, less hostile to me.

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August 30, 1948.

I have received Your Exalted Highness's gracious letter of the 25th. I had already posted my letter in reply to your two previous ones. His Majesty has only said what one would have expected him to say. Neither he nor the British Government nor anyone else can say anything else, namely, that Hyderabad should come to terms with India. The Governor-General too is not likely to say anything very different. His Excellency, I can assure Your Exalted Highness, is a true friend of yours, and most anxious to help you. His advice is sure to be in the best interests of Your Exalted Highness. If Hyderabad goes on insisting on its own terms, no peaceful settlement is possible. This is what I have been saying all along. There must be some give and take on both sides, and Hyderabad must realize the weakness of its own position.

Mr. Menon told me in Delhi, in the presence of Zain Yar Jung, that, if Your Exalted Highness allowed the Indian troops to be sent back to



Bolarum, the Government of India would not ask for accession or even an agreement.

It is a matter for Your Exalted Highness's consideration whether you should agree to this suggestion, subject to the following two conditions:

- (a) that the jurisdiction over the area is retained by the State, and
- (b) that the troops would remain only for a strictly limited period, say a year, and would be withdrawn when normal conditions have been restored.

Your Exalted Highness could tell the Government of India that you are asking for the troops to be sent back solely as a proof of your desire to establish the friendliest possible relations with them, a desire which, you hope, will be fully reciprocated by them. You are anxious to remove all possible doubt from their minds about Hyderabad's attitude towards them.

Indian troops are still stationed in Bangalore. Nobody objects to their presence. In fact all welcome it. They increase the prosperity of the place, and socially, too, they are useful. Secunderabad and Bolarum, under British administration, were a different proposition.

Your Exalted Highness may remember that I took your permission, and not only spoke to Sir Claude Auchinleck, the Commander-in-Chief, but also wrote to him asking for the withdrawal of the troops from Bolarum. . . . Circumstances were different then. When I was in Hyderabad, all was peace, though speeches used to be made occasionally by certain interested persons criticizing me in unmeasured terms.

I believe the Government of India would agree to refer to the arbitration of the Federal Court of India any dispute or difference between the parties arising out of the agreement. This seems reasonable.

As regards the stationing of troops in "an emergency," I do not think Hyderabad need make this a breaking-point, so long as jurisdiction over the area is allowed to be retained by the State, as in Bangalore. Personally I do not think that this is really such an important matter from the point of view of either party, and I do not know why the Government of India attach so much importance to it. But since they do, Hyderabad need not be equally insistent in rejecting it.

I was in favour both of accession and an agreement. I thought that between a powerful party and a weak one it is safer for the latter to have an explicit agreement and not to leave things vague.

Mr. V. P. Menon, mentioned in the above letter, had distinguished himself as an able officer and enjoyed the confidence of



successive Viceroys. He became the right-hand man of Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of States, and took a prominent part in negotiations with the Ruling Princes.

In reply to the Nizam's telegram requesting his help "to bring about a peaceful and honourable settlement" between the two Governments, the Governor-General (Mr. Rajagopalachari) stated that he was all for a peaceful settlement, and drew the attention of the Nizam to "the state of insecurity and alarm that prevails," assuring him, "in any political solution, Your Exalted Highness's prestige and position will be safeguarded." He wrote to the Nizam, on August 31, 1948:

I thank Your Exalted Highness for your telegram acknowledging due receipt of His Majesty the King's letter sent by me from Bangalore. I write this after returning to Delhi. I need not assure you that I am entirely in favour of a peaceful settlement of all conflicts wherever they may arise. I have therefore been greatly distressed by the course of developments in Hyderabad and repeated failures of attempts to bring about a peaceful settlement. It is for my Government to deal with this, as well as other matters. But I would have no hesitation to do all in my power to help a peaceful settlement.

The most urgent phase of the problem as I see it, and as I know my Government see it, is the state of insecurity and alarm that prevails. That is the urgent issue. Allowing for exaggeration, there is no doubt that unrestrained activities of private armies, allowed to be armed with weapons and enjoying the support of official authorities, created a state of terror for the vast majority of the people in Hyderabad and on the borders thereof. There has rapidly grown a feeling of utter insecurity among all classes of people and a demand for intervention by the Indian Union. It is morally impossible for the people of India to ignore the conditions prevailing in Hyderabad and affecting its people as well as endangering the peace of South India. It is not possible to allow the sense of terror and insecurity to continue. Disturbances of civil economy consequent on this movement of migrating people, breakdown of trade, commerce and communications that have followed, with a necessary corollary of insecurity of life and honour and property are intolerable in view of the position of Hyderabad right in the centre of India.

It appears to me clear, and it must be equally clear to Your Exalted Highness, that to allow this to go on will spell ruin. It is important to



remember in the confusing context of to-day that there is no conflict between the interests of the people of India and the people of Hyderabad. In the present as well as in the future the interests of all concerned are common, and the Government of India have repeatedly given assurances that in any political solution Your Exalted Highness's prestige and position will be safeguarded. I would request Your Exalted Highness to ponder over the situation and to do something courageous and wise to terminate the present state of alarm and insecurity and to restore full confidence and normal conditions of life and business. There is no loss of dignity involved in doing what the happiness of the people demands.

In order effectively to terminate the state of alarm which has made public opinion so clamorous for armed intervention and to restore general confidence, I would endorse the suggestion reported to have been made for this purpose by Sir Mirza Ismail, who came here on Your Exalted Highness's encouragement and on your behalf. He is a statesman of wide experience and balanced judgment, with intimate knowledge of affairs relating to Hyderabad, and, what is more, he is as concerned in the welfare of Your Exalted Highness as in the welfare of the people of this land, including Hyderabad. Your Exalted Highness should ban Razakars, and, as Sir Mirza Ismail advised, invite the re-posting of adequate military forces of the Government of India in Secunderabad, so that there should be no doubt in the public mind in Hyderabad and outside as to the security of person and property, and the basis for friendship may be laid. This should be entirely on Your Exalted Highness's own initiative. I see no other effective way of restoring security and confidence. The steps which you have recently taken serve only to add to the irritation of previous dilatory procedure, without bringing in substantial good. What is required is speedy decision and friendly trust, and not controversy and delay.

This letter is purely personal and from one whom it has pleased Your Exalted Highness to trust as a true friend. The happiness of our people is within easy reach. May God guide us both.

A more friendly and conciliatory letter could not have been written in the circumstances. The Nizam, in his reply, contradicted the statement of the Governor-General that there was insecurity in Hyderabad.

I have received Your Excellency's letter dated 31st August, one copy through my Agent-General at Delhi and two more copies and one advance telegraphic copy through your Agent-General at Hyderabad.



It appears from your letter that a very wrong impression of insecurity of life, honour and property in Hyderabad prevails at your end. I presume it is the result of persistent false propaganda of certain parties and persons with the objects other than agreement between the Indian Union and Hyderabad. The situation at the borders will immediately and materially improve if border raids are prevented from the adjoining provinces. You refer also to Sir Mirza Ismail's suggestion which he made during his recent visit to Delhi. Sir Mirza Ismail, though my old friend, is really not properly acquainted with the intrinsic problems of Hyderabad, because he remained here hardly a year, unlike his predecessors. Further, he is unaware of the subsequent developments, and therefore action on his suggestion is obviously impracticable.

Regarding other points, please let me state that the matter of Indian troops to remain in my territory is out of the question. My own troops are able to satisfactorily safeguard life and property of my own subjects and are fully capable of dealing with the situation.

Regarding your suggestion of taking over the political situation entirely in my own hands, keeping the Government aside, I am afraid under the changed conditions it is not possible for me to bear the entire responsibility without my Government sharing it. This very reply in substance I had communicated to your predecessor last June. I am really anxious to arrive at an honourable settlement and shall greatly appreciate your valued contribution towards solving the present deadlock by ensuring peace both in Hyderabad and in the surrounding provinces of the Indian Union. I do hope you will give this matter your further serious consideration and make an early settlement possible.

It was obvious that the Nizam was more or less a prisoner in his palace, and unable to act independently in accordance with his own better judgment. I felt that the only way of getting him out of the clutches of Razvi and his satellites, who included some of the ministers, was to get the Indian troops back in Secunderabad. But the Nizam would not, or (more probably) could not, ask for them. When I made this suggestion, he expressed surprise that I should ask him to look to the Indian army for protection, as if he could not rely upon his own army for this. My answer was—"Alas, that is only too true!"

In a heterogeneous country like India, with its diverse castes and creeds and races, safety lies in a judicious "mixture" of all



the elements—whether in the army, in the police, in the civil or judicial services, in the municipalities, in the legislature or in the Cabinet—no particular caste or community or region being allowed to have too preponderant a representation or influence. That way lies both safety and contentment—a rare instance of justice and expediency going together. It was for this reason that I wanted to dilute the Hyderabad army, which was composed entirely of Muslims, with at least 25 per cent of Hindus. So also the police force, with British officers at the head of both. If this had been done, the Muslim oligarchy would not have lost their heads and run amok as they did.

I felt deeply for the Nizam. I could clearly perceive that it was too much to expect him to get rid of his evil advisers and act boldly and independently of his Government.

There lived in Hyderabad, the former Nizam's trusted adviser, the venerable Sir Amin Jung, who was for some time the present Nizam's adviser also. He had retired a good many years before the débâcle, and led a quiet life, deeply immersed in his studies (he had one of the best private libraries in India), until his death in 1949 at the age of 89. "You and I," he wrote in 1949, "are at present unable to say or do anything for Hyderabad except perhaps to sit in a corner and weep silently. You foresaw all the present complications when you advised accession without much ado. May God save India from a civil war between Hindus and Muslims—that is the prayer of an old man who does not expect to live to see the end of the present complications."

Pakistan could have influenced these people and could have saved the Nizam, but failed to do this. An unequivocal statement from that quarter would have disabused the minds of the Ittehad, who were building hopes on the support of Pakistan, not realizing that Pakistan was not going to be guilty of such a grave error.

Mr. Rajagopalachari was good enough to tell me that I had "played a noble part and it will go down in history." He did his utmost to get the Nizam to take the right course. The Nizam could not have had a more genuine friend and well-wisher than Mr. Rajagopalachari. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, too, was well disposed towards him in spite of his well-known aversion for the princely order. They were both anxious to act fairly and



justly by the Nizam. But even the last letter of the Governor-General to the Nizam, earnestly requesting him to accept his advice, had no effect. (September 10, 1948.)

I thank you for Your Exalted Highness's telegram dated September 9 in which you have again asked me to do what I can to create an atmosphere of better understanding in which you and I may be able to make a personal contribution in serving the interests of the people of India and Hyderabad. In my letter dated August 31, I pointed out to Your Exalted Highness that the most urgent phase of the problem, as I saw it, was the prevailing state of insecurity and alarm. I have implored Your Exalted Highness to do the right thing on your own initiative; more specifically, I suggested that you should ban the Razakars and invite the re-posting of adequate military forces of the Government of India at Secunderabad, so that there should be no doubt left in the public mind in Hyderabad and outside as to the security of person and property, and the basis of friendship might thus be laid. I added that I saw no other effective way of restoring security and confidence. You seem to interpret this as advice given to Your Exalted Highness to over-rule your Government. My point has been wholly missed by Your Exalted Highness.

In your reply of September 5, besides denying that there was any insecurity of life, honour and property in Hyderabad, you added that the matter of allowing our troops to be stationed in your territory was out of the question.

Unless Your Exalted Highness is prepared to act on the suggestion that I made in my letter of August 31, it is impossible for me to see how I can help Your Exalted Highness to achieve the purposes that you say you have in view. I feel strongly, and therefore repeat, that the issue of public confidence and sense of security is the immediate question to be tackled and I have no doubt what I have suggested is the only effective solution, and I am grieved Your Exalted Highness has been advised to reject my considered advice. It would not in the least affect other issues if Your Exalted Highness invited the re-stationing of our troops as a guarantee of peace and a demonstration of the determination to settle matters amicably. On the other hand, if Your Exalted Highness force the Government of India to act on their initiative in this respect, it is bound to affect other issues and in a grave manner.

This was in reply to the following telegram from the Nizam:  
In continuation of my telegram to you dated September 5, once



more I ask Your Excellency to make use of your good offices with your Government to accommodate Hyderabad's viewpoint, as indicated in last June's discussions, and to create an atmosphere of better understanding, in which you and I may be able to make a personal contribution to the extent that lies in our power in serving the interests of the people of our respective countries. I sincerely trust that you will give your earnest attention to my request and thereby avoid serious and unpleasant developments of any kind in our relationship.

The Indian troops marched in, and Hyderabad quietly surrendered on September 18, 1948, after only four days' fighting, if fighting it could be called. What surprised me was that the military authorities in India should have thought it necessary to mobilize a complete division with one hundred and fifty tanks and armoured cars, reports said, against a comparatively small, ill-equipped and ill-trained force.

Thus ended an unnecessary tragedy. Genius, it is said, has its limitations, but stupidity is not thus handicapped. The Nizam's misfortunes were due entirely to his evil advisers and the irresistible pressure exerted upon him. The scrupulous correctness of his conduct since the "police action" is a testimony to his character and to his unquestionable loyalty to the Government of India.

A story has long been current in Hyderabad how the first Nizam went to a faqir in Aurangabad and asked for his blessing. The faqir gave him a few "koolichas" (a kind of bread), and when he asked for more, he complied but told him that seven were all that he could have. From that time the belief was current in Hyderabad that the rule of the dynasty would terminate with the seventh Nizam, and this is what has actually happened. The Hyderabad Muslims are entitled to derive what comfort they can from this story—that they were mere pawns in the hands of Destiny, their fate having been determined for them two centuries ago.



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*Thoughts on Partition: Before and After*

I HAD pleasant associations with successive Secretaries of State for India, and in particular much friendliness was shown me by Sir Samuel Hoare (now Lord Templewood), who was in charge of the India Office in the later stages of the Round Table Conference. He worked hard for the Federal plan, which was finally authorized by the India Act, 1935, but, owing to delays and the coming of the second world war, was never implemented. I share his regrets on this ground, and his belief that it would soon have led to Dominion status: this he maintained in a speech to the East India Association in July, 1952. I cannot too strongly endorse the view he then expressed that the transition of August, 1947, was unduly rushed, and that it would have been wiser to keep to the date originally fixed, June, 1948. In his words, "The result was that there was no time for ensuring an orderly transfer, and something near to chaos ensued in many parts of India. It was a sad ending to a noble chapter, and a bad beginning to a new one, to rush the transfer to such an extent that the good work of generations was endangered. Many of our friends were left without guidance and support, and thousands of harmless men and women massacred in cold blood." Jinnah (Liaquat Ali Khan said in a broadcast) pleaded for more time, but even his appeal was disregarded.

I was strongly opposed to the division of India. It cannot be denied that the partition of the country has resulted in the weakening of both the parts, India less, perhaps, than Pakistan, which itself is split up into two widely separated sections, West Pakistan and East Bengal. It has made the position of the Muslim community within the Republic of India, numbering some 40 millions, extremely difficult and embarrassing.

The ultimate responsibility for the partition can fairly be laid



at the door of Congress, and not that of Mr. Jinnah, who, be it said to his credit, was prepared to accept Sir Stafford Cripps's offer in 1942, but Congress would not. Again, he accepted the Cabinet Mission plan in 1946, but Congress raised difficulties. It is incorrect, therefore, to lay the entire blame on him, although the primary responsibility was unquestionably his. However, now that partition has been effected and Pakistan is an accomplished fact, I have no doubt that all right-thinking people in India wish it to be happy and prosperous, closely allied to India by ties of common interest.

For nearly six years now, the two countries have been poles apart, distrustful of each other, unready to co-operate or compromise. Neither, apparently, realized the absolute necessity of compromise in all political intercourse. So long as both India and Pakistan were so wary, suspicious, and determined to have their own way, none of their urgent mutual problems could be solved. How long could they have gone on spending a huge proportion of their revenues on defence against each other, instead of laying the foundations of a lasting peace and a sound economy? Now, at last, the long-overdue settlement seems to be in sight. And, with this, may we not hope for reunion *in spirit*?

Since partition, very few Hindus are to be seen in the streets of Karachi, or elsewhere in West Pakistan. Need this be so? I was sorry to see, recently, that Mahatma Gandhi's statue had not been restored to its place in the Karachi public park. He sacrificed his life in the cause of Hindu-Muslim peace, and no respect that we Muslims could show to his memory would be too great. The cry of an unthinking section, and the recommendation of an advisory committee, for a constitution based on the *Shariat* (Muslim law) or Islamic principles is not a healthy sign. As a Muslim, I respect these principles, but one has to consider how far they are applicable in detail to modern conditions. The increasing influence of the fanatical element on the masses augurs ill for Pakistan. It is never safe or wise to project religion into politics and allow politics to masquerade in the guise of religion. And what about India? One can only hope that the tendency to treat the Muslims there as aliens in their own land will give place to friendship and trust. Except the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru,



who enjoys the confidence and affection of Muslims in a remarkable degree, and one or two others, like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, it is difficult to think of leading Hindus whose attitude towards the Muslims remaining in India can be said to be very friendly. These Muslims too have their own responsibilities in this matter. They have such constitutional guarantees as seem to have satisfied the other minorities. An attitude of co-operation towards the Government is justified, and is the best policy. There are some, unfortunately, who are seeking to renew the old hostility. Nothing could be more disastrous to Muslim interests. We can afford no more "separatism," even of feeling; and wherever improvement of the Muslim lot is to be sought, the means must be constitutional, the temper rational.

Kashmir has been the chief stumbling-block to peace and understanding between India and Pakistan. The ideal solution of such a dispute is one which does not completely satisfy or dissatisfy either party. If the settlement is to last, and create no sense of injustice, neither party should feel that it has lost everything. A decision by plebiscite would have that fatal result. It would not solve the problem, but make it more acute. The fact has to be realized that partition is inevitable. Indeed, it already exists. Let Pakistan, therefore, retain that portion of Kashmir which it now holds, with the addition of Poonch, which is a predominantly Muslim area and geographically forms part of Pakistan. Let India retain Jammu and Ladakh. The Valley proper, the real bone of contention, should go to neither: it might be formed (subject to minor adjustment of boundaries) into a compact autonomous State, self-governing in its internal affairs but having no responsibility for foreign policy or defence, as it would have no direct relations with any foreign power outside the sub-continent. Such a solution would be fair to all parties, India, Pakistan and Kashmir, and would leave no rancour. The Valley might be given the right of appeal to the United Nations in case of trouble from either India or Pakistan. This settlement would involve some sacrifice on the part of all, but how well worth while it would be! Few problems are capable of a swift, heroic solution, but this, I maintain, is such a problem.

If a beginning of true reconciliation between India and Pakistan



can be made in a rational adjustment of claims, the habit will grow, and gradually these States may be linked together in all that pertains to their prosperity—in finance, in defence, in foreign affairs, and in industry and commerce. Who knows whether, at last, they may become one State again in all but name? That is looking far ahead, but the high destiny of the Indian sub-continent cannot be fulfilled otherwise.

The Ruling Princes enjoyed a privileged position under the British, and received, on the whole, just treatment at their hands. In and around 1850, a few States ceased to exist on the application by Lord Dalhousie of the doctrine of "lapse." After the mutiny, the British Government's policy was consistently friendly. Conservative, and reluctant to interfere with the rights and privileges of the rulers, Britain tried to observe strictly the out-moded treaties and covenants entered into with them. If it erred at all, it erred in observing these too strictly. As I said to the Secretary of State during the Round Table Conference days, the British Government, when they talked of the Indian States, thought only of the rulers, not of the people. It was the latter that would be the really important factor in the coming days. Their interests could not and should not be ignored. Where the Political Department went wrong was in upholding, even encouraging, autocratic rule. It was inclined to be too conservative and discouraged any attempt to associate the people in the administration and to make it responsive, if not responsible, to their wishes. This was my experience in Mysore, and even more so in Jaipur, where I came into direct conflict with the Political Department on this issue. Had it not been for the strong support of the Maharaja, I should have left Jaipur. If only the Political Department had encouraged the development of constitutional government in the States and the curtailment of the rulers' autocratic powers, the princes might probably not have suffered the deprivations which came when British protection was withdrawn and they were faced with an avalanche of popular agitation. The heads of the Indian States have ceased to exist as such, and those who were Ruling Princes in British days are now no more than so many "Princes of Arcot," mere political pensioners. They are no longer a force in the affairs of their country.



Subsequent events have shown that the rule of the princes, even though in many cases it was of an autocratic nature, was liked better than that of the "popular" ministries that have supplanted them. If the people's contentment and happiness were the determining factors in the form of government, the people of Jodhpur should have had their former ruler restored to them after the 1951-2 general elections, when they declared themselves so emphatically in favour of the prince against the chief minister, who had opposed him. No doubt there would have been similar results in most other States, too. As constitutional heads of their States, the princes could have played a most useful part in the development of the country on peaceful and progressive lines, and would have proved useful allies of the Central Government, particularly in these days of hazardous world conditions when Communism is spreading its tentacles on all sides. Not a few of the princes, such as the former Maharajas of Mysore, Baroda and Bikanir, the present Nawab of Bhopal, the Maharajas of Travancore, Jaipur, and Bhavnagar—to name only the most notable among them—had been outstanding examples of the value of that personal and paternal rule which is, by tradition and habit, so well suited to the Indian mind. The "all in" policy of Government eliminated a stable element and a stabilizing influence in the country. If tiny Coorg could be a self-governing State in the India of to-day, with all the apparatus of modern democracy—with a ministry and a legislature of its own—why not Baroda, once the second State in India? Or Bhopal, Indore, Jaipur, Kolhapur—and so many other States? Delhi and Ajmer are two other States that have been recently created—both absurdly small to be given that name and status.

Mahatma Gandhi once told me that the princes of India were under the impression that he was not well disposed towards them, but they would realize, when he was no more, that he was a true friend and meant well by them. All that he asked of them was that they should become constitutional heads of their States and let their people govern themselves under their aegis. He wrote to me on the 19th March, 1941:

I am the only true friend among public men of the princes. This is a high but true claim. You are about to leave; in your retirement you



will be doing useful service. May you have many years before you and may you be an instrument for doing some truly big work. Your sandalwood box is always by my side and holds my odds and ends.

Inexperienced men, unaccustomed to authority and subject to personal and party pressure, are now ministers in the former princely States. These appointments, in many cases, are the reward of political and party service, and have often been given to those who could cause most trouble if unrewarded: sometimes a delicate calculation, the result of which roused bitter hostility in their unsuccessful rivals, and produced splits that paralysed policy. As always, the people and the country are the victims of personal ambition. In the resulting failure of government, strangers are sometimes brought in from the Centre—upright and experienced men, perhaps, but unaware of local circumstances, unfit therefore to deal with the various classes of local people. They are unaware, too, of the development of government in the area before these convulsions, and contemptuous of local administrative ability, judging it by those whom they find installed in power. These processes are by no means appreciated by the public, whose interests suffer, and who are accustomed to a tradition native to the soil, which had already been developing towards a genuinely Indian sort of democracy.

There is no doubt that the people—the masses, if not the comparatively few politically-minded among them—miss their old rulers. Even the pomp and circumstance associated with them, it seems, has its real and abiding value in this curious world. Volumes might be written on the advantages of benevolent personal rule, but I will only remark that authority always does well to clothe itself in dignity, even in splendour; and that loyalty, one of the noblest and most healthful of human instincts, is not so common nowadays that any worthy source of it should wantonly be destroyed. You cannot, without impoverishing and weakening the Indian mind, take away its instinct of loyalty to a person or institution, and far better a near and visible person, intimately concerned with local affairs, than a distant one, unknown and unapproachable.

It is not, then, a matter for surprise that “popular” ministries in the former principalities should be so unsuccessful. It is not



entirely the fault of the ministers. The circumstances are such as to make any ministry, constituted as these are, both inefficient and unpopular.

Let me give an example from my own experience. I found that the administration of Jaipur gave me more trouble than that of Mysore, though the latter is a much bigger State, because the administration of Mysore was manned by trained and experienced men, appointed simply for their ability and fitness. How is it possible, I ask, for a ministry composed of inexperienced men, and in the circumstances of to-day, to administer successfully not only Jaipur but at least half a dozen more States, even more backward than Jaipur, comprising the whole of Rajputana, with an area of 116,000 square miles? It has a multitude of problems, I do not say to solve, because that would be a miracle, but to struggle with. The States Ministry will do well to devote some attention to this matter. It was not well advised in uprooting the established old regimes, and making radical changes in such a hurry. Precipitate action seldom pays in the long run. I am speaking as one who has no personal predilection for any particular form of government. My opinion has been formed not on considerations of political theory but on observation of actual results.

Soon after my retirement from the Dewanship of Mysore in June, 1941, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir sent a special messenger by plane with a letter offering me the Prime Ministership of his State and promising to give me a free hand in the administration. About the same time, a pressing invitation came from Jaipur. I was well acquainted with the Maharaja of Jaipur, while I was a stranger to the ruler of Kashmir; moreover, I was not keen on going so far away from Bangalore. Also, I did not relish the idea of displacing a friend. After consulting my friend, Sir Kenneth Fitze, who was Political Secretary at the time, and the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, I decided to go to Jaipur.

After my retirement from Hyderabad in 1947, I was again asked if I would go to Kashmir as Prime Minister. On learning that I was unwilling, the gentlemen concerned approached a distinguished friend of mine in New Delhi, Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, and requested him to persuade me to accept the invitation. He told them that even if I was willing, he would advise me to



drop the idea. The situation in Kashmir was fast deteriorating, and he did not wish me to become embroiled in that strife.

I received another offer, this time from Baroda. The Prime Ministership had fallen vacant by the departure of Sir Brajendralal Mitter. I informed Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, who had communicated the offer to me, that I could not accept it. I think now—in view of the calamity that overtook both the ruler and his State, ending in its extinction—that I made a mistake in refusing, as I might have been able to do something to avert the catastrophe. I had known His Highness from his boyhood, and he would have treated me with all consideration.

The late Sardar Vallabhai Patel and I had known each other for over a quarter of a century and were on very friendly terms, but we drifted apart after he became a minister at the Centre. His attitude completely changed towards me and our relations became strained. He could be a good friend but a bad enemy. After the fall of Hyderabad, the Nizam was most anxious to see me, but I was not allowed to go anywhere near him. It was difficult to understand this after all that I had done to effect an amicable settlement between Delhi and Hyderabad. In March, 1949, the Nizam was most anxious that I should be one of the trustees of the Prince Moazzam Jah Fund. He was forming a Trust Board for the administration of the fund, which he had set apart for the Prince. In case I survived him, I was to take his place. This was a remarkable evidence of his confidence in me, in spite of all that had happened. I wrote accepting his invitation, but telling him, at the same time, that I had better write and ascertain from Sardar Patel if he had any objection. I had a feeling that he might not like my going to Hyderabad, and it turned out to be so. I telegraphed to him:

Nizam wants me to be a member of his second son's trust board and tells me you have no objection. Also he wants me to see him in this connection. Kindly let me know if I have your permission to comply with both his requests.

His reply was:

Military Governor intimates that matter is still at a discussion stage and that he will ask for instructions of States Ministry on the question



of trustees and other relevant matters. He did not think at present your visit would serve any useful purpose. On other hand it might give rise to undesirable speculations. In these circumstances I would advise your dropping the idea of visiting Hyderabad. I would add that Nizam has not raised this subject with me at all.

I do not know even to this day how far Sardar Patel was right in saying that the Nizam had not consulted him in this matter, for both the Nizam and others wrote to me stating very positively that he had obtained the States Ministry's permission. Perhaps it was the Secretary of the Ministry and the Military Governor who had agreed, not the Minister himself.

In an article I contributed to *The Times* in May, 1949, I had criticized Patel for his policy towards the States, which I characterized as ruthless. He seems to have resented this very much. Democratic autocrats are hard to please. I do not suppose the other members of the Cabinet relished my remarks, either. I do not remember exactly what I said in certain letters to friends, but I must have given expression to my views in a manner too frank to please them. I have in my life practised very few economies of truth in the expression of my opinion, and this habit has got me into trouble sometimes, both with the British Government of India and with the present Government in Delhi.

During my visit there in 1947 as Prime Minister of Hyderabad—I had just then resigned—Rajkumari Amrit Kaur telephoned inviting me to see the Mahatma. When I went to see him he called in Abdul Gaffar Khan, who asked me what I thought of their demand for an independent North-West Frontier Province. I was not prepared for such a question and said half-jokingly, "Since you do not wish to join Pakistan and since you cannot join India, you may as well be independent." Gandhiji laughed and remarked—"How is this possible?" I said, "If Bengal can ask for independence, why not the North-West Frontier Province?" I, of course, was no more in favour of an independent Bengal than of an independent Frontier Province. These are not days for such small independent States. They only create more difficulties. The larger the group the stronger it is. Europe is paying dearly for that mistake. If the Austro-Hungarian kingdom had not been split up into several smaller States, the position in



South-East Europe would not have been so complicated as it is to-day, and Russia would not have been able to absorb so many of them and made itself so powerful in that region. In trying to remove a possible formidable rival, the allies played into the hands of the Kremlin, and created a greater danger for themselves.

Another immediate problem is presented by the clamour for the division of India on a linguistic basis. A separate Andhra State has been created in a hurry—because of insistent pressure and a fatal hunger-strike. Such piecemeal and insufficiently considered action is not wise. Statesmanship consists in the anticipation and guidance of events, not in waiting upon them. It is necessary to consider systematically, and at once, the whole question of Indian administrative units, and in this problem language is only one element, and not the most important. The simplest and most satisfactory way would be the appointment of a strong commission representing the various States and interests. Its membership would include both prominent politicians and retired administrators of relevant experience.

We must no longer refuse to face this problem. The present anomalies are very striking. On the one hand, there is the U.P., a great State (incidentally with linguistic unity) comprising 65 million people—far too big for a single administration. On the other hand, we have Coorg—a tiny region of 150,000 people, yet burdened with the costly paraphernalia of separate administration. If Coorg were merged in Mysore, with which it has close affinities, a single sub-division officer, or at most a deputy commissioner, would suffice, instead of a chief commissioner, two ministers and an assembly! Again, why should little Ajmer be a separate unit, and Rajasthan, with its 116,000 square miles, a single one? Small States, owing their existence to past conditions, need not remain separate. Would it not be well to transfer to West Bengal the Bengali-speaking districts of Bihar, and to Bihar certain districts of Uttar Pradesh? Here I am suggesting particular steps, but my real point is the most urgent necessity of a complete and expert examination of every aspect of this problem of redistribution.

Many people in India are opposed, on principle, to linguistic



States, having regard to the peculiar circumstances of India. Her population is a mixture of races and creeds, and this very diversity may go far to ensure the stability of our new democratic institutions. The component States too should conform to this pattern as far as possible, if India is to remain an integral whole. A linguistic pattern would mean the creation of a number of States inclined towards mutual hostility, besides creating a minority problem in each State. This would result in ultimate disruption and disaster. For instance, it would be a grave error to transfer the predominantly Mahratta-speaking areas of Hyderabad to a new Mahratta State, and its Kannada-speaking area to a Karnatak State. The different communities in Hyderabad have lived together for centuries in peace and amity, and might be allowed to continue to do so.

The recommendations of such a commission as I advocate would carry greater weight with the public than the mere decisions of the Central Government, depending mainly on the intensity of public agitation. The commission would not fail to consider linguistic matters, but would see them in proper proportion. It would have innumerable factors to consider, and would no doubt base its findings chiefly on administrative grounds. Its report would be published for public comment, and preparation of legislation for the consideration of parliament. All the issues could then be discussed, in the fitting democratic way.

In September, 1941, I went to Ceylon as a member of the official Indian delegation to negotiate with the Ceylon Government regarding the position of the Indian settlers in the island. Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, an officer of high ability and varied experience (he was then a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council), led the Indian delegation. We had long and sometimes heated discussions with our Ceylonese counterparts. The leader on their side was the late D. S. Senanayake, who later became the first Prime Minister of independent Ceylon, and earned a high reputation as a statesman and administrator. We succeeded in the end in reaching agreement. We discussed every important issue with a representative group of Indian permanent residents. We took care to discuss the draft agreement also with them, and obtain their approval before signing it. Unfortunately,



however, the moment it became known that an agreement had been reached, a vigorous campaign was launched against it both in India and in Ceylon. The Government of India yielded to this pressure, unwisely as I thought, and did not ratify the agreement. Matters have not improved since, but on the contrary, as Mr. Senanayake said to me not long before his death, have deteriorated from the Indian point of view.

My friendship with Mr. and Mrs. Senanayake dated from the time they visited Mysore and spent some days there as State guests, visiting various places of interest in the State. That was a couple of years before we met in conference in Colombo. His visit to Mysore was, as he often remarked to me and others, a revelation to him, and he went away determined to follow in our footsteps and develop Ceylon as we were trying to develop Mysore State. He asked me only a couple of months before his tragic end to spend at least a week with him and see how far he had succeeded in his endeavours to copy Mysore. Writing to me on October 8, 1941, he said:

The success of the Conference owes a great deal to you, Sir Mirza, to the prudence and understanding of a great administrator. Personally, I shall always be grateful for your presence on the delegation. I always felt that I had in you a friend who understood the difficulties of my own position.

Although in 1915 Senanayake had been jailed for forty days by the British, he had become by 1949 their staunch friend and an implacable foe of the Communists. He led Ceylon's 7,000,000 people to independence, so willingly offered to them by Britain. As the new dominion's first Prime Minister, he kept Ceylon closely attached to Britain, and Britain, for her part, was not slow to recognize his worth.



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*Friends from Western Lands*

IN my official career, I came in close contact with many Europeans and Americans in varied walks of life. The memory of their kindness and warm friendship is a dear possession to me.

Foremost among these is my old Guru, Sir Stuart Fraser, at whose feet I sat for nearly six years as a classmate of the late Maharaja of Mysore. I have already referred to him as a most distinguished political officer and a most successful tutor and guardian of ruling princes. I have been in England at least nine times and on every occasion I have had the great pleasure of visiting him in his pleasant home near Christchurch, presided over with such charm by his daughter Violet. When I went there in August, 1953, it was a delight to me to see him so well and so much interested in everything, at the age of 89.

Colonel Sir Hugh Daly was Resident in Mysore for nearly six years (1910 to 1916), when I was Huzur Secretary. Sir Hugh had great influence with the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, and there was no recommendation of his concerning Mysore which the Viceroy did not approve. In his own Political Department, he was called "the Durbar's wakil," just because he constantly backed up Mysore and was greatly trusted by both the ruler and the public. The Mythic Society Hall in Bangalore is named after him, as well as a beautifully shaded pergola in the city of Mysore. He was a really lovable man, as kind as he was able. He took a keen interest in the State, and kept in touch with us, even after retirement.

Sir William Barton and I have been friends since he was Resident in Mysore from 1920 to 1925. That friendship has only grown warmer with the lapse of time. We still correspond



regularly. Sir William went to Hyderabad from Mysore and during his Residentsip there he brought about drastic reforms in the administration and saved it from collapse. When visiting Hyderabad I always stayed with him.

Colonel and Mrs. T. J. McGann were two of my most revered friends, as they were of the late Maharaja and his mother. Mrs. McGann was a lifelong friend of that great lady, and they were devoted to each other. Colonel McGann belonged to the Indian Medical Service, and began his official career in Mysore. He rose to be the Chief Medical Officer of the State, and built up the department. On retirement they went away to England to settle there. About the year 1908 the Maharaja invited them to come back and spend a few months in Mysore as guests of himself and his mother. Those months spread out into very many years, and neither they nor Their Highnesses had the heart to part from one another. Only death severed them. Mrs. McGann was a very remarkable person, with a positive genius for friendship, wise and ripe in judgment, thoughtful in her kindness. She was certainly, for those many years, the most intimate friend of the ruling family, who valued her counsel as much as her affection. Colonel McGann died in 1936 at the age of 94, and Mrs. McGann in 1941, at 84; she survived both the Maharaja and his mother. I was, unfortunately, away in New Delhi at the time and could not see her before her death. She was like a mother to me and, as her daughter, Mrs. Irvine, who, I am glad to say, is still with us in Mysore, often says, she looked upon me as her second son. A new hospital built at Shimoga, the headquarters of the district where Colonel McGann began his official career in Mysore, was named after him by the Maharaja, thus commemorating the lifelong connection of a most loyal friend of his family and State.

To Sir Harcourt Butler I was much attached. Firm friendship developed between us from the time we first met when he visited Mysore as Chairman of the Indian States' Committee. Sir Harcourt was one of the most distinguished men in the famous Civil Service. He was at an early age Political Secretary, then a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, and successively Governor of the United Provinces and Burma.



He was averse to the separation of Burma from India, and he was much annoyed with the Secretary of State when he was consulted in the matter after, as Sir Harcourt said, the decision had been made. I carried on a vigorous campaign against the proposal and brought out a pamphlet explaining my reasons for opposing it. Sir Charles Innes, the Governor of Burma, who was on special duty in London in connection with the Round Table Conference, sent for me and we had a talk on the subject. Unfortunately, I could get no support from Mahatma Gandhi or the Indian delegation. My hope was that not only Burma but even Nepal and Ceylon might one day form part of a great Federation, and I thought the constitution of India should be such as to admit of the possible inclusion of these countries. That would have been good for all concerned. This sub-continent was destined to meet with a sadly different fate.

I was interested to hear from Butler that, if Lord Reading had not accepted the Viceroyalty of India, Mr. Lloyd George would have given the office to him. What a difference that might have made to India! In my view, Sir Harcourt was superior to Lord Reading both in statesmanship and in administrative capacity. His knowledge of India was unique, and his sympathy towards Indian aspirations was genuine and eminently practical. Let me quote a sentence or two from some of his letters.—From that of July 23, 1929:

I am a Director of the National Provincial Bank and find the work of absorbing interest. One gets an insight into the large economic questions which, as you rightly say, are the important questions. Pure politics don't interest people nearly as much as they used to do. There is a lot of reorganization of industry going on, they call it rationalization, but the pace is slow. Will the workers work? Prosperity must rest on work in the last resort. I am not a great admirer of democracy, but we have to take things as we find them and pay the price. On the whole the British democracy is sounder than most. As one working man said to me at the time of the Election, "The Liberals were no d—n use to us so let's try Labour. If they're no d—n use to us we'll turn them out." The rock ahead in every country, except America, is finance, and even in America it may prove that they have too much of it. Financial ideas like others are changing under the pressure of events.



In March, 1936:

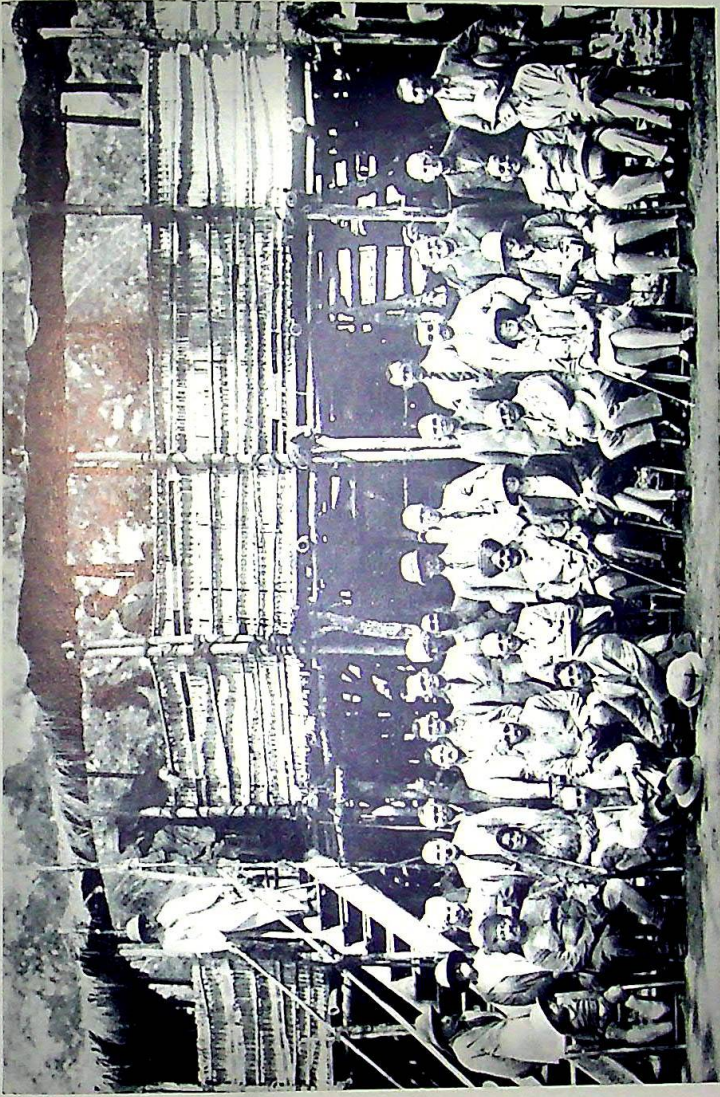
On the whole, I am an optimist. The longer I live, the less importance I attach to *immediate* political issues. Here in London we are too much interested in the vagaries of politicians. Economic prosperity is the main thing.

Sir Paul Patrick, whom I first met at the Round Table Conference in 1931, and who rose to be Assistant Under-Secretary of State at the India Office, was a friend of all of us of the Indian States. The Princes and Ministers all liked him, and appreciated his high qualities.

The late Geoffrey Dawson, Editor of *The Times*, whose acquaintance I had made when he visited Mysore, gave a luncheon party at his house near Regent's Park when I was in London in 1931 for the Round Table Conference, and asked several distinguished people to meet me, among whom were Stanley Baldwin and Lord Lothian. I met Lord Lothian for the first time at this party, and was so deeply impressed by him that I ventured to suggest to Baldwin that Lord Lothian would do splendidly as Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Irwin. His answer was that Lothian was lacking in administrative experience. Baldwin told me that the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, had thought of appointing a Labour peer as Viceroy, but, on Baldwin's protest, dropped the proposal.

Lord Lothian need not have died so young. He was a convinced Christian Scientist and succumbed to a malady which medical science could have cured but which Christian Science, unfortunately, could not. We wrote to each other regularly until his death. His letters from Washington, where he was British Ambassador—and a great Ambassador—were of peculiar interest. In one of his letters he remarked that his visit to Mysore had given him an entirely new insight into the possibilities of Indian States in the federation. He added—"I look to you to save the Federation." In a conversation after the acceptance of the federal solution by the Round Table Conference, he said that Federation would probably prolong the authority of the Ruling Princes by thirty years. "After that?" I asked. His answer was that he did not think they would survive much longer. I did not agree with him. I felt—as I still do—that there was really no good





At a keddah (elephant capturing) party, Mysore. Those seated include the Maharajas of Benares, Cooch Behar and Jodhpur, Lord Irwin the Viceroy (now Lord Halifax), Lady Irwin, Sir William (afterwards Lord) Birdwood, and Lady Pears, wife of the Resident in Mysore.







reason why the major States, at any rate, should not go on indefinitely with the rulers as constitutional heads. This would have been better for India than the extinction of princely rule.

I must say a word about the Christian Missions which have been working in South India for very many years. In Travancore and Cochin, especially, their efforts at conversion have met with considerable success. The Christian population of those two States (now united as Travancore-Cochin) exceeds one-third of the total population. It is barely 1 per cent in Mysore, where, however, the Methodist Mission has been a pioneer in the spheres of education and medical aid.

The Rev. George William Sawday was, undoubtedly, the foremost among the Christian missionaries who have served in Mysore. Born in 1854, he came out in the late 'seventies, and spent in Mysore City forty-five years out of his sixty-one in the State. He identified himself with all public activities, and took a prominent part in municipal affairs. He was a member of the City Improvement Trust, and took a keen interest in its work. At my request, he continued to be a member of the Municipal Council until the very last, as I felt that the mere presence of one so well known and so highly respected was of great value. I used to consult him frequently on public matters. His unfailing sympathy with those who could be helped to large opportunities, his faithful ministry and devoted service, joined to a much more than ordinary capacity for administration, made him a missionary whose achievements were of surpassing value. His wise counsel influenced the lives of the people in and far away from Mysore City. The Holdsworth Memorial Hospital at Mysore City and many chapels and schools in towns and villages are abiding testimonies to him. When the time came for him to retire and return to his native land, he said good-bye to his friends and to the country he loved so dearly. But he could not stay away. In ten months he was back at his old post, leaving his daughter, sons and grandchildren behind. He built a neat little bungalow for himself in Mysore City and lived in it, rendering all the service he could until his death in 1944 at the age of 90.

Another non-official Englishman whose name was a household word in Mysore was Rajasabha Bhushana Lieut.-Colonel W. L.



Crawford, C.B.E., D.S.O. The Indian title was conferred upon him by the present Maharaja. It carried with it a beautiful jewelled pendant worn round the neck and in addition a pair of shawls and brocade—which together are called *khillat*. He and his partner brother, C. S. Crawford, arrived in Madras from London in 1887, to be junior assistants on a coffee estate in Mysore. His brother was 17 and he was 18 years of age. Their journey by train from Bangalore to Mysore City, a distance of 87 miles, took about nine hours. The engine burnt wood, and halted half-way to replenish the stock. I give part of a very interesting note which he prepared at my request:

Travel was extremely difficult. The main means of travel was on horseback, the bullock coach or the humbler bullock cart. The two former were rather a luxury, as there were very few and none could be hired. After two days, we left for Hassan, 87 miles away, in a bullock cart en route for Munjerabad, where the coffee estates were situated. The journey to Hassan took five days and another day to the Estate. Of course, we had a cook to look after us at the various halts at the travellers' bungalows, as we travelled at night and rested the bullocks during the day. I still have the happiest remembrance of what grand fellows were the Hassan gowda bandy-men. The Malnad of Mysore, one of the most beautiful parts of the whole of India, was then almost unknown, and, owing to malaria, was one of the most dreaded parts for the Government officers to be sent to. Not only was the malaria prevalent but there was little or no medical aid available and no means of transport. Hassan District had but one fully qualified medical officer in the whole of the district, a very good doctor, the first Mysorean to qualify as L.M.&S.—a degree granted by the Madras University. There were unqualified men known as hospital dressers in most Taluk Headquarters. Compare this with the medical aid available to-day in the Hassan District, with its many hospitals, dispensaries and forty or more highly qualified medical officers.

Crawford, who had been ailing for some time, passed away at his estate, Hiravati, in April, 1951, in his eighty-third year. He always wanted to be there at the end. He died happily and was buried at Chickmagalur. The Crawford Hospital was built in my time by Government and named after him. He contributed Rs. 2 lakhs towards the cost. I had an oil painting of him put



up in the entrance hall. He also made a handsome contribution to the University Convocation Hall in Mysore, and it appropriately bears his name, one which will be held in grateful remembrance by the people of Mysore.

Sir Charles Todhunter and I worked together throughout my term of office as Dewan for over fifteen years. He was appointed Private Secretary to His Highness in 1926 on my recommendation, as I felt that a man of his great experience and ability would be particularly useful, as he proved to be. There was strong opposition at first from the Government of India, on the ground that Todhunter was too senior an officer of the Indian Civil Service, albeit retired, to occupy the post. It had to be explained to them that the status of the private secretary was that of a member of the Executive Council. Todhunter had acted as Governor of Madras for a short time and was the senior member of the Madras Executive Council at the time of his retirement. There was a certain gentleness—almost diffidence—in him which won regard, just as his great ability and phenomenal labours won respect. The surest way of pleasing him was to ask him to do some work for you. Nothing was too small or too big or difficult for him. I am sorry to say that we differed towards the end. In fact his advice to the young Maharaja, turning down my proposal for the establishment of an automobile factory in Bangalore, led to my resignation. That was the immediate cause, but I was beginning to feel that my other schemes, too, might meet with no better fate. Conservative by nature, Todhunter disliked intensely the starting of big industries even when they were really desirable. But we became friends again and I used to seek his help even after I left Mysore.

His last days in Mysore as Private Secretary were not very happy. His services were terminated in an abrupt manner, and no further notice was taken of him, although he was living on an estate quite close to Bangalore. The death of his wife in 1945 left him a lonely figure, and he settled down in Jersey, where he died of heart failure in 1949, at the age of 80. His doctor had warned him to take things more easily for a time, but he felt better and could not be persuaded to rest. Todhunter used to join us in lamenting the late Maharaja's obstinacy in not listening to his



doctors and taking more rest—exactly what he would not do himself.

My relations with most of the Residents were very friendly, and with several of a most cordial character. The most notable among them were Sir Stuart Fraser, Sir Hugh Daly, Sir William Barton, Sir Steuart Pears, Sir Arthur Lothian and Colonel C. T. C. Plowden. Sir Arthur was a genuine friend of the Ruling Princes.

Mr. S. E. (later Sir Steuart) Pears, Resident in Mysore from 1925 to 1928, was Sir William Barton's brother-in-law, and that was a sufficient passport to close friendship between us. I felt his departure very much when he was appointed Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province. I asked him if he was not sorry to leave Mysore and go back to that wild and dreary country again. He said—No. He loved the Pathan and the Frontier, and that was where he wanted to finish off his Indian career. He was a good friend of the State. He fought hard and successfully to get the annual subsidy reduced.

There was, however, one difficulty with him and that was in connection with the ceremonial at the Dasara Durbar. He had strong objection to the Resident and other European guests—including ladies—having to pass in front of the Maharaja's throne and bow to him while he remained seated. This custom dated from the earliest days, but no argument would convince Pears that it was by no means derogatory to their dignity and it was obviously impossible for His Highness to stand up on the throne. The Maharaja thought the Viceroy should be asked for a ruling. Accordingly I went to Simla, after informing Pears of the purpose of my visit. Lord Goschen, Governor of Madras, was acting as Viceroy, and, having been a spectator of several Durbars himself, he could appreciate our viewpoint. The issue was decided in our favour, as I anticipated. When I informed Pears, he just shrugged his shoulders and said he had to do what he thought right and would not worry any more. Our friendship did not suffer in the slightest degree. Indeed, it received a fillip, and we got to like him more than ever. He told me one day that there were three persons in the world whom he loved most—Mrs. Pears, her brother Sir William Barton, and myself. We



had a "club" of our own—composed of the three of us. I had to turn up regularly at least two or three times a week. Otherwise, he would tell me that he was coming round to fetch me.

With a Resident like him, and such a Maharaja, my happiness was complete—not to mention a most kindly Viceroy in Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax). I knew I could always run up to New Delhi and be sure of a sympathetic hearing from him. Pears did not live long after going to Peshawar. He had an extraordinary accident while out on a walk. Lady Pears and he, with their dogs, were walking along a footpath on the side of a steep hill, and Lady Pears was just ahead of him. She heard a noise and the next moment she saw her husband lying dead at the bottom of the hill. An officer of outstanding qualities and a great gentleman thus ended his earthly career, lamented by all who knew him.

I found a very affectionate friend in Rev. Father Lingi Ambruzzi, an Italian Jesuit priest, who was for some time Principal of St. Joseph's College in Bangalore. He was an excellent principal and most enthusiastic in his work. He stayed with me in Mysore during every Dasara festival, and I was extremely sorry when he left. St. Joseph's College is a notable example of the excellence of missionary colleges. My son, Humayun Mirza, now in the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, studied there before he went to Oxford.

I must not omit to mention a great Scottish lady whom I had the good fortune to meet first in London in 1931. Who did not know the Hon. Mrs. Ronald Greville, and who among the élite of London did not enjoy her hospitality? At her country home in Surrey, Polesden Lacey, I met many distinguished people, among them Sir Austen and Lady Chamberlain, Lord and Lady Reading and the French Ambassador. She was a born hostess and a shrewd judge of people. For nearly forty years she had a special place in London society and was a redoubtable force in political circles, but at the same time an unassuming woman and a warm-hearted friend. She enjoyed the friendship of four generations of the royal family. King Edward VII, King George and Queen Mary were frequent visitors. The late King and his Queen Elizabeth spent their honeymoon at Polesden



Lacey. She was specially attached to King George VI, and on her death she left her superb jewellery to Princess Margaret. She passed away in 1942, leaving Polesden Lacey, with her fine collection of old masters, china, porcelain and period furniture, and her thousand acre estate, to the National Trust, for public enjoyment. Mrs. Greville visited Mysore in 1934. Writing from Gajner (Bikaner), she said:

I can *never forget* my visit to Mysore. It was to me a sheer delight, quite unforgettable, and your hospitality was marvellous, and I learnt so much from you. I felt I had acquired a real friend, which is a very priceless asset.

Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikanir, to whom Mrs. Greville referred in the same letter, was a really great prince. A man of striking appearance, a brilliant polo player, a marvellous shot, a keen pig-sticker, an able administrator passionately devoted to his State and people, the Maharaja was a most successful ruler, who lifted up his State from comparative poverty and insignificance to prosperity and eminence. He secured from the Government of India everything he could possibly get for his State. After a long and successful struggle, he succeeded in having the waters of the River Sutlej extended by irrigation into the State, bringing nearly 1,000 square miles of desert land under irrigation. The Bikaner revenues, which did not exceed Rs. 22 lakhs when he assumed charge, had risen to Rs. 3 crores at the time of his death in 1943.

I have had too many friends in journalism to refer to all of them, but I must write of my friendship with one who held with much distinction the highest post in the profession—that of the editorship of *The Times*. I first met the late Geoffrey Dawson when in 1929 he toured in India with his wife, daughter of a former Governor of Madras, Sir Arthur Lawley (afterwards Lord Wenlock), who was a special friend of the late Maharaja of Mysore. We corresponded occasionally and I was in touch with him when in London at the sessions of the Round Table Conference. It was well said of that gifted man that he was a past-master of his craft, and there was nothing he asked any colleague to do that he could not do better himself. I shall always hold his memory in



grateful remembrance both for his outstanding characteristics as a man and a journalist and his extraordinary kindness to me.

I must also mention that most likeable friend, Ralph Deakin, who died recently. He held with great zeal and efficiency for many years the exacting position of Foreign News Editor of *The Times*. He kept in close touch with correspondents of the paper all over the world and had a remarkable flair for judging news value and making the right selection, on the Commonwealth and foreign side, of the main article of the day, still known in Printing House Square as "the turnover," though it ceased long ago to fill the last column of the leader page and continue overleaf. Deakin was a man of decided views, and I always found argument with him stimulating.

There is another name which must be mentioned—that of my friend Sir Frank Brown, who has long been connected with *The Times*. I have had the privilege of his friendship for many years, a friendship which has been fruitful to me in many ways. His knowledge of India is unique, and among notable Indians who have visited Britain during the last twenty-five years and more there is hardly any with whom he is not personally acquainted. He is the life and soul of the East India Association, and has rendered valuable service to India through this organization. It has been in existence since 1866, and has steadily pursued its objects of strengthening the bonds of friendship between Britain and India, Pakistan and Burma and promoting mutual understanding. In October, 1952, when Sir Frank had completed twenty-five years as Honorary Secretary of the Association, Lord Hailey, on behalf of the members, presented to him a gold watch, duly inscribed, and a cheque, in appreciation of his outstanding services over a quarter of a century. During the whole of this long period, Sir Frank has devoted himself wholeheartedly to the interests of the Association and its great success is due to his unremitting care.

Field-Marshal Lord Birdwood, a most friendly and obliging man, was Commander-in-Chief in India from 1928 to 1933. He took a keen personal interest in Mysore, and helped me in getting the military rifle range moved from the vicinity of the Palace to its present site on Oosoor Road. He was also helpful in settling the water supply question with the Government of India.



I have come into fairly intimate contact with two of America's ambassadors, Mr. Loy Henderson in India and Mr. Merle Cochran in Indonesia, for both of whom I entertain a warm regard. The United States is fortunate in having such representatives abroad. I am under a deep obligation to Mr. Cochran for all his kindness to me in Jakarta. I admired him for his skill as a diplomat and for his goodness as a man. No wonder he was so popular in Indonesia. Among my American friends was Major-General William Crozier, who, with Mrs. Crozier, visited Mysore in 1925, and from then till his death, twenty years later, was a most interesting correspondent.

Sir Alexander Mackintosh, who made a great name for himself as a parliamentary journalist, became my friend through his son, A. B. Mackintosh, who was principal successively of the Central College in Bangalore and the Maharaja's College in Mysore, and retired after a distinguished service of more than thirty years. "I hope," Sir Alexander wrote in August, 1941, "you will be happy in your retirement. You deserve rest, but I am sure you will not be idle. Perhaps you should write your memoirs, as I am writing mine. Yours would be read with great interest here." Sir Alexander's memoirs were published in 1946 under the title, *Echoes of Big Ben*. He went back sixty years in his parliamentary recollections. For fifty-eight he was a constant occupant of the press gallery. He watched five generations passing through the lobby, and continued his everyday attendance to the age of eighty.

I hardly dare mention the late Miss Katherine Mayo as one of my friends. But I feel I must. We came to know each other when she visited Mysore in 1925, and it was through her that I got in touch with the Rockefeller Foundation and obtained help from them in our fight against malaria and in the improvement of public health generally. We were the first in India to avail ourselves of the aid of this great organization, which, faithful to the tradition of its own country, is rendering yeoman service in the cause of human welfare. Her book, *Mother India*, raised a storm of protest in India, but I knew that she meant well and was trying to help the country by exposing the shackles, as she said, which bound her down and prevented her from making progress.



My book (she wrote on July 3, 1926), to be of any real use, must be absolutely frank; for I believe that the policy of stating things as they should be, rather than things as they are, although sometimes useful, would not be useful here. And frank speaking does not always commend itself to the subject thereof! But India's future is in her own hands, not in those of Britain. She alone can *give* herself power over her own affairs; but not until she has looked her affairs square in the face and weighed and balanced their elements. I dare to hope that I may be able to contribute a little material towards such an estimate.



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*Indonesia and Democracy*

THE Indonesian archipelago has been aptly described as "a garland of emeralds twined round the equator." It consists of thousands of islands, big and small, with a population of some 80 million, the major part being concentrated on the island of Java, which is, perhaps, the most thickly populated area in the world. Java has 50 million people, while the adjoining island of Sumatra, much bigger in size, has only 10 million. The Government is endeavouring, but with little success so far, to transfer some of the surplus population of Java to Sumatra. The reason for the failure is lack of the necessary organizing capacity and of a firm determination to carry out the task.

We, in India, have developed a maternal attitude towards Indonesia, since students of history, within the past thirty years or thereabouts, have told us that cultural movements from the peninsula established themselves in Java some sixteen centuries ago, and that traces of those contacts are still to be found, not only as archaeological remains but as elements in the religious and social life of to-day. These links existed between the two countries long before the momentous arrival of the Muslims in the sixteenth century. In such relationships, outside the distracting problems of economics, politics and creeds which are tormenting humanity to-day, we see an early approach towards mutual understanding.

It was interesting to me to find that in Java the two major arts of dance-drama and music preserve an unbroken tradition, yet without being merely a continuation of old forms and modes. I was also specially interested in the fact that in Java the dance-drama expressed the ancient Vedic imagination of India, and did so in the person of Muslim performers, thus making a beautiful combination in the arts of matters that, in other circumstances, might be regarded as incongruous.



My stay in Indonesia as the United Nations Technical Assistance Representative was short. I was in that fascinating country only eight months. The last month was spent in hospital at Jakarta. It is a very fine hospital, well staffed and well run. I cannot be sufficiently grateful to Dr. D. K. Wielinga, the Medical Officer in charge, who restored me to health, or to the gracious Mother Superintendent, who took special care for my comfort. I shall long remember St. Carolos's Hospital with much gratitude.

I cannot say that I was very happy in Indonesia. So many things conspired to make the stay unpleasant. In the first place, I had no house to live in. The Government was unable to fulfil its promise to provide one. My hotel was regarded as one of the best in the East and the rooms were comfortable enough, but I simply could not relish the food. It may have been my fault. Before accepting the post, I had definitely stipulated that I was to be accorded the status of Ambassador of the First Class. This was supported both by the Government of India and the United Nations, and the then Indonesian Government agreed. The explicit assurance was not carried out.

Indonesia is administered as a unitary State; power is centralized in Jakarta to an extent that is likely to result in serious difficulties sooner or later. The administration is top-heavy and far from efficient, and has to contend with widespread corruption, nepotism and favouritism. Rice has to be imported, a fact which reflects no credit on the administration. Had it not been for the fact that the country is extremely rich in natural resources and the people have enough to eat, the Government would have found itself confronted with a serious situation. However, Nature is kind to Indonesia; and it is kind, too, in having provided her with leaders who command and deserve the confidence and respect of the people. It is, indeed, a great blessing to any country to have such patriots in seats of power, and much more so in the case of a young country which is struggling to find its feet. I refer, in particular, to Dr. A. Soekarno, the President of the Republic, a man of high ability, widely read and a powerful speaker. He can sway the masses by his eloquence, and is gifted with a considerable charm of manner. He has the supreme satisfaction of having led the movement which ended in the



liberation of his country after three and a half centuries of foreign domination. It is his task now to guide it towards the haven of safety and prosperity.

Dr. Hatta, the Vice-President, one of Dr. Soekarno's close collaborators, is a popular figure in the social and political life of Indonesia. It is a remarkable tribute to his personality that I did not come across a single individual, Indonesian or European (including the Dutch), who had not a good word for him. I do not know why he, obviously the man best fitted for the position, is not placed at the head of the ministry and entrusted with the task of administering the country in this crucial period in its history, with the support of the President. As *The Times* stated on April 10, 1952:

The main need of Indonesia today is strong, imaginative, and competent leadership which can turn to fruitful purpose the patriotic energy that carried the independence movement to success.

A ministry composed of so many heterogeneous elements, each pursuing its own aims, and having to face a parliament composed of at least twenty different groups or factions, cannot be expected to function efficiently. The fight for office, preferment and influence goes on incessantly. A system of cabinet responsibility is unworkable in Indonesia.

The obvious remedy is for the President to choose a team of the best men in the country, men who command public confidence and who have earned a name for integrity and ability (and fortunately such men are available), and entrust the administration to them, without responsibility to Parliament, which, composed entirely as it is of more or less nominated members, cannot be regarded as a truly representative or democratic body. It is neither fish nor flesh. Yet it is by no means docile. The ministry might be a responsive one as far as that may be possible, but not responsible to Parliament until general elections are held and a properly elected legislature comes into being. Even then it will remain to be seen whether parliamentary democracy can function in such an atmosphere.

It is to be hoped that Indonesia will not make the mistake that seems to be the fashion in Asia today. The more backward a



country is—for instance in Nepal—the more enthusiastic its leaders are to adopt adult suffrage. Such countries thus delude themselves into imagining that they have become fully democratic and entitled to be classed among the great democracies of the world. I am not a believer in universal suffrage, not even for some Western countries. That remarkable lady, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Bangalore recently, was critical of me on this point. She wrote in a press article on March 18, 1952:

He told me that he did not approve of universal suffrage, and he sounded to me somewhat like Alexander Hamilton in his reasoning. But I can well understand his feeling, though I do not agree with him since I think in this modern day it is the giving of responsibility which is the surest teacher. Much that Sir Mirza did tell me, however, I agreed with thoroughly. He has wisdom and a keen and analytical mind, but he is not quite prepared to undertake some of the adventures which seem almost essential, if somewhat dangerous under modern conditions.

Mrs. Roosevelt forgot that the “day” is not really so modern in the case of some countries. In a letter to *The Times* on April 10, 1952, reference was made to a prediction by a German philosopher, with which I heartily agree, that universal suffrage would mean the death of democracy. In an article in *The Statesman* I wrote, “Adult franchise in a country like India, with its illiterate, ignorant and poverty-stricken masses, can pave the way for Communism.”

While in India our leaders took over the administration from the British as a going concern, the leaders of Indonesia have to create an efficient administrative structure though themselves lacking in administrative experience. They are faced with a task of stupendous difficulty. There is an appalling insufficiency of trained men in all branches of administration. I was told that there were no more than three qualified sanitary engineers in Indonesia. It is impossible for any country so seriously handicapped to make much headway, unless it discards xenophobia and brings in qualified men from abroad on short-term contracts. I urged the Public Works Minister to take some such action, and undertook to get some men from India, but, I fear, with no



effect. Among the many suggestions which I took the liberty of making to the President and the Vice-President, from time to time, one was that they should seek such outside assistance.

It is necessary to overhaul the entire administrative machinery, more especially the Central Secretariat at Jakarta. How is the Secretariat manned at present? How is it working? How is it recruited? Is the personnel employed well qualified? Is there an organized civil service? Are the salaries sufficient? Is there a sufficient decentralization of authority in a country so scattered as Indonesia? As far as I was able to judge, the answer to every one of these questions was unsatisfactory. A comprehensive review of the administrative structure, from the centre to the smallest unit, should be made, and a well-knit, well-balanced system should be introduced, retaining the good and useful features of the existing system and adapting it to modern conditions. In order to do this, a Commission consisting of experienced men should be set up, with a chairman of proved ability, one who has dealt with such problems in other countries and acquired a name as a successful administrator.

The following quotation from the *Antara*, a daily paper of Jakarta, dated the 10th September, 1951, conveys some idea of the state of affairs in Indonesia at that time:

Mr. J. Janis, Deputy Head of the District, comprising the Sangir and Talaud Islands, north-east of the Celebes, informed the representative of the *Antara* that he had come to Jakarta to find out what had happened to Sangir's requests for financial aid. They had received no payment except the usual monthly salaries, while Sangir asked for at least Rs. 3 million. Its total annual revenue is Rs. 50 millions, and it has a population of 180,000. And yet it has not got even one medical man, nor a public motor-boat, nor a roller required for repairing the ruined roads.

I was surprised to see members actually smoking while Parliament was in session. Nor was their dress in conformity with the dignity of the House. I drew the attention of the President to these significant defects, and he seemed to appreciate the criticism. (If the dress of the Indonesian parliamentarian is not what it should be, that of his Madras counterpart is a great deal worse.)

I may note here some of the other suggestions I made for the consideration of the President:



The Economic Co-operative Administration (which works under Point 4 Plan of the President of the U.S.A.) might be requested to start a Science College, an Engineering College, and a Medical College, too, if possible.

Publication of the President's speeches in book form.

Construction of stadiums at Jakarta, Jogjakarta, Sourabaiya, Bandoeng and Medan.

Translation of standard works from foreign languages into the Indonesian language, which has practically no literature of its own. (They have adopted, wisely I think, the Roman script.)

Government offices are open only in the morning; that was the Dutch practice and it is being kept up. Why not have the usual working hours from 10 or 10.30 to 4.30 with an hour's interval for lunch, as in Malaya and Ceylon, where the climatic conditions are much the same? The summer heat of these countries is by no means so trying as that of North India, where the government offices work in the afternoon as well. The banks and other business houses work the whole day, why not the government offices too?

The standard of living is higher in Indonesia than in India. People are better clad and better fed, although cloth is much dearer. One hardly sees the miserable specimens of humanity that one comes across in the big cities of India, as well as in rural areas.

The U.S.A. is incurring enormous expenditure in helping Indonesia in various directions, but it would be more useful to the country and more advantageous to the United States if the money could be spent on more tangible objects.

Jakarta, the capital, which had no more than 600,000 people in the Dutch days, has now a population of 3 million, probably more. It is a very congested and untidy city, and one of its great drawbacks is that it has no parks or open spaces, no air or spaciousness. The Dutch did not seem to believe in parks, or in large compounds for their houses, which are mostly situated right on the road. Even the residence of the former Dutch Governor-General has hardly any grounds. How different, for instance, is the Governor's residence in Singapore! The city dweller has nowhere to go for recreation in the fresh air. The houses, too, are



too close together. It is a familiar and disgusting sight in Jakarta to see men, women and children bathing promiscuously in sight of the passers-by in the filthy water of the canals, into which sewage from the adjoining houses flows.

The Dutch rulers looked upon Indonesia entirely with the eye of a business man, and spent money only on schemes calculated to yield them a handsome return. The moral and material education of the people did not seem to interest them at all. Indonesia was a rich bee-hive, the bees being the Indonesians, and the Dutch the honey-gatherers. I believe, nevertheless, that it would be in the interest of Indonesia to allow the Dutch industrial and commercial concerns to continue their activities. I was told that some of the Dutch planters were disposing of their estates, which were passing into the hands of the Chinese. Unless the Indonesians themselves can take them over, which they are not yet in a position to do, it is much better that they remain in present hands, for the Dutch are not likely to be a political menace to Indonesia any more, and they will be interested in the maintenance of law and order and the security of the country. The Indonesians, unfortunately, have hitherto shown little aptitude for commercial enterprise; and no wonder, for they have had no opportunity of acquiring such experience. It will be some time before they can acquire it, and in the meantime they should see that the interests of their country are safeguarded. It is absolutely essential to avoid the mistake of immediately nationalizing oil. The country's interest demands that for some time the Dutch should continue to work the oil wells. External menace to Indonesia will perhaps come mainly from the Chinese, and later and to a lesser extent from the Japanese. They should now prepare themselves to meet such a danger, should it ever materialize.

The future of New Guinea, or Irian as the Indonesians call it, is a live issue between the Dutch and the Indonesians, the former as determined to hang on to their part of it as the latter are to annex it. If Indonesia had, from the beginning, been more conciliatory, it might have proved easier to find a satisfactory solution. But the attitude of Indonesia was militant and uncompromising, and this never helps in negotiations. Patience and gentle pressure will even now help towards agreement with the











Dutch better than any political insistence, for time is on the side of Indonesia. The important thing is that, as a preliminary, the Republic should strengthen her position by putting the administration in order. She is not likely to succeed in her efforts to get back Irian so long as the administration remains weak and inefficient. So long as there is no security in certain areas, Indonesia cannot expect to gain that influence among the nations of the world to which she is entitled by her area and population, her geographical position and her abundant natural resources. Once she attains that influence, her claim to Irian will not be easy to resist. Perhaps even the other half of New Guinea, too, might one day come to her.

In Indonesia, the Government prides itself on maintaining a secular State, and is not interested in religion, not even in the religion of the vast majority of the people. The authorities seem to be unaware that a secular State need not be a religionless State. All that the secularism of a country should imply is that it does not identify itself with any particular religion to such an extent as to be unfriendly to others. It does not mean indifference to the religion of the great majority of the people. A nation should be encouraged in religious faith and practice. It should have some spiritual moorings to keep it steady in times of trial. It is a mistake to encourage people to live in an atmosphere of agnosticism or indifference to those spiritual values of life which are the sheet anchor of a nation, no less than of an individual.

The Christian community, small as it is, has built several churches in Jakarta. One of the most prominent buildings in the capital is the Roman Catholic cathedral. Protestant churches, too, have been built. But Muslim houses of prayer are lacking. There are mosques, no doubt, perhaps two or three, but one has to look for them. I took the liberty of suggesting to the President, who, I believe, is a good Muslim himself, that he should try and make his people more religious-minded. Just about this time (September, 1951) President Truman delivered an admirable speech at a meeting of U.S.A. religious leaders in Washington. His remarks were so apposite to what I had been saying to President Soekarno that I sent him a copy of the speech. "The free nations' greatest source of strength," said President Truman,



"in the face of anti-religious Soviet imperialism, lies in the God we acknowledge as the Ruler of all."

The sombre situation in Indonesia has its lessons for Malaya. That country is virtually a no-man's-land, in a political sense, with a population divided between Malaysians (3,000,000), Chinese (3,000,000) and Indians (700,000), and is bordered by a potentially hostile China. I think that the early withdrawal of British guidance and protection would be a calamity. Early self-government, except under the British aegis, would usher in an era, not of peace and prosperity, but of chaos and poverty. It is to be hoped that the politicians of Malaya will exercise a wise self-restraint, and let prudence guide their steps towards self-government. Eastern countries like India and Pakistan have adopted the British system of government and are following in the footsteps of Britain in political matters, and they find that close association with Britain is essential, and full of advantage to them. What could be the use to Malaya of the kind of independence which can bring only weakness and misery?

"We are still hoping we can do something for this very rich country but very poor people." These words (in a letter from the Editor of *N. V. Indonesia Raya*, an influential daily of Jakarta) well express, in their simplicity, both the tragedy and the hope of the Indonesian people.



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*The United Nations and Asia*

THE United Nations Organization has been created with the object of establishing peace and security in the world. Will it justify so high an expectation, and the enormous sums of money that are being spent? The world will have to wait for an adequate answer. To me the outlook does not appear bright. My impression is that possibly the fault lies mainly with the major powers that at present dominate the organization while the smaller powers have too little influence. This fact militates against trust and confidence in their leadership. This will be the acid test of the United Nations, and will eventually spell the difference between success and failure. The United Nations and its specialized agencies have not, unfortunately, been exempt from the great bureaucratic temptation to employ far too many people, to choose them on grounds other than specific fitness, to pay them too much and to give them too much authority, often over others more competent than themselves. Where this temptation prevails, the result is disastrous. And the organization is becoming too complicated and too expensive. The huge secretariat might well be reduced. The United Nations would do well to recognize the fact that there is new life and power in the countries of Asia and Africa. They sorely need foreign help but are suspicious of it. They are all looking forward with hope and determination to such prosperity and such influence in the world as they have never yet known. But their golden opportunity has its great dangers. More than ever before do they need wise and unselfish leadership, and the careful education of public opinion.

The countries which have now attained complete independence in administration and policy are very gravely handicapped both by under-development and by faulty administration. Even where



there are some leaders of proved ability and integrity, leadership is, in general, lacking. Corruption has not been stamped out, but increased. Even noble figures are sometimes perverted by a futile, short-sighted nationalism. Too often leaders are dependent for power on the unenlightened mob, which is constantly misled by open or secret mischief-makers. It is a pitiful spectacle when an honest and intelligent leader allows himself to be a slave to popular clamour, while he knows perfectly well that the end will be disaster for his country.

The mischief-maker works upon the people in two ways. Playing upon their poverty, he makes wild, impossible economic promises. Playing upon their patriotism, he fosters hatred of the stranger, even the friendliest, most helpful stranger, and perverts the people's deep love for their country into a narrow, ignorant, disastrous nationalism. And indeed many an honest leader fails to understand that our whole future depends on our ability to transcend this. Countries that hope to become prosperous and powerful by mere self-development and by a selfish concern with what appears to be their own immediate interest—such States have no future. The world has passed beyond all that. A splendid future is open to us, but we shall never reach it unless we are ready to plan and work in full and reasoned co-operation with the other countries of the world. For even Asian unity is not enough. We can afford *no* antagonisms to other free peoples, who are ready to give us so much and to receive so much from us. We must become States of the world-commonwealth. This is where the United Nations can play so vital a part.

And, as we all know, it is *only* the organization of the United Nations that can, if properly led, help us to our goal. The Eastern countries must feel that material help is ready to hand, as well as the garnered experience and wisdom of the world. One could never over-estimate the need for the United Nations, and all the mutual understanding and help that it can offer to its members. And the Eastern nations are no passive beneficiaries. Their voice, too, should mean much in U.N. counsels and policy, in the clarification of its aims and in the making of its ideals. And so, in giving the fullest co-operation to the United Nations, the Eastern countries should feel that they are serving themselves and



at the same time the whole world. This can happen only if this great organization proves worthy of their confidence.

If the Asian countries are to be real world-states, and themselves to attain prosperity and happiness, they must give concentrated attention to their domestic policies. All of us are suffering from sickness of the body politic. That sickness is largely due to the personal corruption of men in power. Here no half-measures can be tolerated. We must have integrity in all leaders and throughout the services. Without either remorse or fear, we must get rid of every corrupt person. We must not allow our countries to become a paradise for politicians and careerists. And there is another, similar, necessity which is equally urgent. When prosperity begins to come to a comparatively undeveloped country, it often does not percolate to the common people. The growing wealth is absorbed by the traditionally rich and powerful, or else a new rich class is created, less worthy than the old. The sun shines on the country, but the poor continue to live in a miserable twilight. It is most difficult to prevent this. The leader who is determined to bring about a proper distribution of prosperity may endanger not merely his office but even his life. At such a crisis, however, the world has seldom lacked heroes.

Surely, in all our countries, men will be found who will stand this test. They will have a hard time, but they will live in history; and in their lifetime they will gain the respect of the whole world. The eyes of the world are on them now. Those eyes are kindly as well as keen. The nations of the Western world have no desire to criticize us, still less to thwart us. They seek our friendship and our confidence. They know that both the peace and the well-being of the world depend, in large measure, upon us. They have understood, better than some of us as yet, how completely interdependent all the nations are. Let us then play our part; let us all help, whether Eastern and Western nations, by using every opportunity provided for us by this great organization to change turmoil and hostility into the peace of one world, governed by truth and justice and goodwill.

That the British nation, which scarcely half a century ago was at the zenith of its power and glory, should to-day find itself in grave financial difficulty and its economic life threatened with



collapse, is one of those strange ironies of fate to which humanity is subject. Providence is jealous. It cannot bear the continued dominance of a nation, any more than of an individual. But those sterling qualities which enabled the British people to assume the leadership of the world will surely sustain them in the difficulties which are now facing them, and help them to regain, or to retain, their high position in the councils of the world. We must all admire the strenuous efforts of the U.K. Government—and especially of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. R. A. Butler, with his Indian background—to this great end.

The United States of America is facing a task of tremendous magnitude and responsibility. Destiny has cast upon her the rôle of defender and protector of the free world. She is carrying a burden which would have crushed any other country. But for her protecting arm, Western Europe would now be in the clutches of the Kremlin, and the rest of the world, sooner or later, would have shared the same fate. History records no such instance of a nation sacrificing so much for the good of humanity, sparing neither money nor talent, whether in fighting pestilence and poverty throughout the world, or in resisting the rising tide of Communist aggression.

And yet, why is it that America's help, given so unselfishly and ungrudgingly and on such a colossal scale, is not adequately appreciated by the beneficiaries? The answer, perhaps, lies partly in the proverbial ingratitude of mankind, but chiefly, I feel, in the psychological approach which the United States has adopted in offering aid. In her preoccupation with the menace of Communism, she has shown excessive anxiety to help countries to resist it and thereby exposed herself to unjust suspicion. People suspect her of some ulterior motive, where none exists. She might wait for the countries themselves to ask for help. Her *desire* to help is now well known throughout the world.

A great deal of misunderstanding of the United States, even in the political field, arises from the character of the American films commonly shown in the Orient. They are too much associated in the public mind with wine, gangsterism and sex, and give a completely wrong impression of American life. The United States would add to her prestige and respect in these countries if



she exercised some control over the films that are exported. A similar effect is produced by the more lurid descriptions of certain aspects of American life by American writers, extracts from which are used by interested parties in propaganda against the United States. It all means so much more grist to the Russian mill.

The information offices and reading rooms which the United States Government has opened in several big cities in India are highly appreciated by the public, and there is no doubt that they are doing a tremendous amount of good, and promoting a better understanding of American ideals and intentions.

The world is suffering to-day from man-made misery, avoidable and therefore the more regrettable and unbearable. The armament race, which itself is the result of mutual suspicion between two blocs of Powers, is directly responsible for the present deterioration in the national economies, causing inflation, reduction of civil production and standards of living and many other evils.

In U.N.O., nationals of all member-countries are eligible for employment and most countries are thus represented in it. There is no racial discrimination; all are united in the service of a single democratic institution. There can be no better demonstration of the fact that diversity of nation, race or creed is no bar to unity of purpose or to service under a common flag, if that purpose is a truly noble one and that flag a truly international one, as they are in the case of the United Nations. We must pray and hope for the best, and look forward to a reasonably bright future, taking comfort in the thought that the world has suffered and outlived much, and men have contrived to be happy in it.



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*The English Language in India*

I AM a great believer in the importance of the English language for India. Even in Indonesia, where the medium of instruction at the university stage is Dutch, I advocated a switch over to English as a second language.

In the Osmania University in Hyderabad, an Indian language is the medium of instruction. While it is the general view among university leaders that this is a right policy, there is nevertheless a considerable body of dissenting opinion, with very solid reasons for its opposition. Part of the problem in India is how to adopt the students' own language as the medium of instruction, substituting it for English, without impairing the students' knowledge of English. I think that deterioration in the knowledge of English is a very great calamity for any Indian university.

I would go so far as to say, even in these days of intensely patriotic feeling, that no Indian university where stress is not laid upon the teaching of English can claim eminence. We may translate thousands of text-books, and hundreds of treatises, but any serious student will have to go far beyond these and read widely in English. He must, if this is to be possible, have a genuine familiarity with the language. I think rather a fetish has been made of the idea of Urdu text-books in the Osmania University, as if text-books were a student's sufficient nourishment. A text-book in one's own language is a blessing indeed, but for the university student it is only the beginning.

During the last half-century there has been an extraordinary deterioration in the English of universities all over the sub-continent. It is no credit to a university student to be far inferior to his predecessors of a few generations ago in knowledge of that language which alone holds out to him and to his country the means of world-intimacy of any kind, but particularly in those



intellectual fields which must ever be the first concern of a university. And English, as I always insisted, is best taught by an Englishman, who is familiar with the language as no one whose mother-tongue is not English can possibly be. This principle applies to all languages, but particularly to a language like English which it is extremely difficult for a foreigner to speak or write correctly.

In Indian universities, at least three languages will have to be taught—the local speech, the national language (Hindi), and an international language. The student will have to be reasonably proficient in each of these. In an address to the Aligarh University students, I said:

Do not forget that men like your Vice-Chancellor, while essentially Indian in outlook, are familiar with the culture of the West and its immensely valuable social and political experience. And this is because of their familiarity with the English language. It is vital to your future that you also should try to obtain such familiarity.

In India there are any number of different languages each spoken by millions of people. Any speech that is adopted as the national language will be foreign to a large part of the country. Hindi is perhaps the language most commonly understood, even when not spoken, in India, but even this language will be entirely new in the South and in some other parts. The position is quite different in Burma and in Egypt, Persia, China and Japan. A nation, properly so called, must indeed have its own national language: it cannot always subsist on a foreign vocabulary. But India is in a sense a continent, with many different tongues, and it will be a slow process to adopt one of these as a national language. Hindi, or rather Hindustani, would be the best, as suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, but the Constituent Assembly, unwisely, I think, decided on a highly Sanskritized version of it. It will not be an easy matter to nationalize Hindi. Until that process has advanced sufficiently (and this will take a long time), English must continue to serve as the main vehicle of communication in the national field.

Further, there is an important sense in which English may be regarded not as a foreign but actually as an Indian language. Within the last century, some of the finest writing in English



has been the work of Indians. It has become rooted in our soil, and has produced fruit that is native to that soil. It is so intimately associated with the development of thought and institutions in the country that any violent attempt to uproot it must mean injury to our *national* life and culture.



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*In the Middle East*

I HAD never visited the land of my ancestors, and thought it was time to gratify this long-cherished desire. Leaving Bangalore on September 19, 1952, I was delayed in Bombay, since the Iranian Airways plane which was to take me to Karachi arrived thence a day late. I was told that something or other usually went wrong with the service. I spent a night in Karachi, and met many relations and friends. I have a number there, some occupying official positions. My nephew, Major-General Iskander Mirza, is Defence Secretary, and another close relation, a Hilaly, is Joint Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry. Mr. Mirza Ahmed Ispahani, perhaps the most prominent industrialist in Pakistan, who is related to me by marriage, was also at the airport to meet me. Four married nieces are settled in Karachi. Some of the high officials are old and esteemed friends of mine—among them the Governor-General, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad; the former Prime Minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin; the Foreign Minister, Sir Zafrullah Khan; and the Home Minister, Mr. M. A. Gurmani.

I left Karachi by plane on the morning of the 21st, and arrived in Teheran in the evening. The trip was far from comfortable. At Zahidan we were detained for three hours and more. This being the first stop on Iranian territory, the baggage had to be examined, and this took an unconscionable time. Meanwhile we had to shelter in a very small old tent, with hardly any room to move. There are no concrete runways anywhere on the way, except in Teheran, which has an excellent airport. Elsewhere, the plane lands on an unmade rough surface, which fortunately is hard enough for reasonable safety. What made me really nervous was the amount of luggage that passengers, especially those coming from Bombay, were allowed to bring with them, and the number of people that clamoured to be taken on the



plane at Zahidan, Kerman and Ispahan. It was something like a bus queue in a city. I began to wonder whether we should reach our destination at all. However, the passenger by air does get somewhere quickly—whether on this planet or elsewhere!

I was in Teheran, on and off, for over a fortnight, and all that time I was the guest of my old friend, Mirza Khaleel Shirazi. He has a beautiful house in a beautiful garden. In Shiraz, too, I was his guest. Mirza Khaleel is passionately fond of gardening. He will go to any trouble and expense to obtain any flowering plant that is likely to do at all well in Iran.

Iran cannot boast of a single well-laid-out park. I noticed, too, that trees like the chinar (plane), which grow to an enormous size, are planted hedge-fashion along roads, with inches between them. They would grow much faster and more luxuriantly if they were placed at least forty feet apart. Another curious thing in Iran was that the entrances to official buildings, houses and shops were placed in the corner whenever possible, even when it would have been easier to put them in the front. Corners seem to have a strange fascination in Iran.

The Gulistan Palace, where the Shah holds his official receptions, is gorgeous inside, but its exterior is far from imposing. I saw the famous peacock throne, and another throne used by Shah Abbas. Teheran was improved beyond recognition by Reza Shah Pahelavi, who adorned it with magnificent buildings, such as the offices of the Ministries of Justice and of Foreign Affairs, and the Military Officers' Club. He constructed some fine hotels in Teheran and on the Caspian coast. One wishes, however, that instead he had spent more money on works of greater public utility, such as roads, railways and hospitals. A railway line to the second biggest city, Ispahan, should at least have been begun. Even the road is in poor condition. Teheran, a city of over a million inhabitants, is still without a protected water supply: work on this has been going on for years. Shiraz, thanks to the generosity of one of its citizens, Haji Muhammad Mamazee, enjoys this blessing. He has given it also a magnificent hospital, which is to be manned by doctors from U.S.A. until Iran can supply her own men. India cannot boast of so luxurious a hospital. The donor wrote from Washington, where he has made his



temporary home, and asked me to tell him what I thought of the hospital. I replied that in my opinion he had spent far too much on it. Three million dollars seems an excessive sum for such an institution in a town the size of Shiraz. Part of it might better have been spent on an underground system of sanitation and a reservoir for irrigation and the supply of power.

Iran was going through a critical time as the result of the long-drawn-out dispute with Britain over the oil question and the consequent upheaval of its economy. Both sides fell into errors of omission and commission. British diplomacy, both before and after the change of government in Britain in 1951, had relied too much on argumentation based on international law, and even in the last note they sent before negotiations broke down a mollifying paragraph might well have been added, to keep the door open.

Dr. Mohammed Musaddeg, then Prime Minister, had his own difficulties to contend with. A Prime Minister who had to carry on the administration from his bedside was under a serious handicap, and it was really wonderful how he did it. The tendency to blame everything that went wrong on the British had assumed fantastic proportions. They were accused of harbouring evil designs against the country. A feeling of hatred against them was deliberately fostered, and the public became convinced that as long as the British Embassy remained in Teheran Iran would continue to suffer from their machinations. The suspicion was, of course, quite absurd. Britain has nothing but good will towards Persia. But it was a convenient excuse. Any target for attack is welcome to a weak administration.

Meanwhile, Iran was losing precious time, and her people were suffering. It is possible for them to live in reasonable comfort even without the oil revenue, provided the administration is conducted on efficient modern lines and does what any good Government would do for its people. *With* the oil revenue, the Iranians could enjoy a much higher standard of living, provided again that the administration was honest and efficient. This is the basis of all national progress, a really good administration. No amount of income is of any avail if the Government is incapable of spending it wisely. The vital necessity of Iran to-day is a



thorough overhauling of the entire administrative machinery. It was completely out of gear at that time. The Persian patriot might well devote his thought and energy to this end, and not let his country fall into the hands of the professional politician, who, as in so many countries in these days, seeks to serve himself, not his country. There must be a *stable* administration, responsive not to misconceived expediency but to high principles and sound policy. An administration that lives from day to day is doomed, and its country with it. Iran is not lacking in men of high intellectual and moral calibre who could be trusted to do justice to the tremendous tasks confronting their country. But circumstances, so far, have not been favourable to them.

Unfortunately, in Iran to-day certain elements have acquired considerable strength, and are a challenge to authority. These will have to be suppressed with a firm hand, without loss of time, if they are not to become too powerful and wrest authority by unconstitutional means. There is a real danger of this. It is to be hoped that the new Government, under General Fazlullah Zahedi, will be able to avert it.

I was granted an audience by His Majesty the Shah, and he talked to me frankly. He impressed me as a man of intense patriotism, most anxious to see his country and his people happy and prosperous. He has generously given up his own extensive landed property to his tenants—an act which deserves much greater recognition than it has received so far from his people.

From Teheran I went to Baghdad on October 15, 1952. My principal object in visiting Iraq was to see the shrines in Kerbala and Najaf, and those in Kazamine, a suburb of Baghdad. All Shiahs hear these names from infancy, and these shrines, coming next to Mecca and Medina in sanctity, attract them from the remotest parts. I was sorry to note that these places, venerated by millions, receive such scant attention from a Government which could well afford to spend a great deal more not only on the shrines themselves but also on the improvement of these towns: they are sadly lacking even in the ordinary amenities of civilized life. Let me give one striking instance of such neglect. There is no road from Kerbala to Najaf, although the distance is only forty miles. The traveller has to rely on the knowledge of the chauffeur.



We lost our way, although the chauffeur was a man from Baghdad, and the Raja of Mahmoodabad, who had done the trip dozens of times, was with me. I suggested that at least high posts might be fixed along the way to indicate the direction. This, indeed, would revive an old Indian custom. We read:

From the seventeenth century onwards, pilgrims were guided on their way by the great *kos minars*<sup>1</sup> which the Mughal emperors built on the highways in North and Central India. High up on the sides of these "milestones," which were usually over twenty feet high, were holes into which lighted torches were thrust to show the pilgrim his way when darkness had fallen. Some of these pillars, erected during the reign of the Emperor Jehangir (1605-27), may still be seen.

Although the Shiah is in the majority in Iraq, the government is in the hands of the Sunnis, and the administrative personnel too is mostly Sunni. This does not seem right, and is likely to cause trouble in a country where religion plays so large a part in the daily life of the people.

I could not help noticing the large number of policemen everywhere in Baghdad. No one would explain this—and the city seemed so peaceful. Their unsuitable and unbecoming white helmets made them seem the more incongruous.

Iraq is floating on oil (the Middle East is now synonymous with oil) as well as on its two great rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris. In less than three years, Iraq's income from oil sources will be rather more than £1,000,000 a week; in fact some £60,000,000 a year. What could it not do with such an enormous income for a population of only five million? A vast and ambitious national development policy is said to have been laid down, and far-reaching projects in the fields of agriculture, industry, health and education are to be undertaken. But no signs of such welcome changes are yet perceptible to a visitor. The administration continues to be ill-organized and far from efficient. If Iraq and Jordan have to look to boy kings (each acceded on his eighteenth birthday) for an era of progress and prosperity, their future will be full of hazards and uncertainties. The young rulers are apparently expected to behave like human prodigies and perform miracles.

<sup>1</sup> *Kos* means three miles.



I asked a *mujtahid* (a high Shiah divine) of Kerbala why it was that Muslim countries were so backward and so badly administered, their people suffering many preventable hardships. Was Islam to blame? This suggestion he indignantly denied. On the contrary, he said, it was just because the principles of Islam were *not* being followed that the countries had come to this pass. When I mentioned this to Miss Jinnah, she corrected me. "Don't say Muslim countries but *Asian* countries." Be that as it may, it is a fact that in most of these countries the administration is unprogressive, to say the least. Take Indonesia, for example, of which I have written in a previous chapter. The administration is near chaos, and no serious effort is being made to reform it. Iraq is perhaps not so bad, but bad enough. So also Egypt, Iran, Jordan, and so on. Pakistan's administration has deteriorated: a great mistake was made when experienced British officials were sent away. The general standard of administration in India could be much higher than it is at present. Public expenditure there is increasing at an enormous rate, necessitating higher taxation and causing hardship and dissatisfaction. It is no exaggeration to say that, broadly speaking, Governments in the East do not enjoy the confidence and respect of the public they serve. Our countries so easily become the paradise of the professional politician.

Much more could be written of my experiences as an administrator and a keenly interested traveller with good friends in many lands. Some of these friends have urged me to add a chapter of brief excerpts on various aspects of life and thought culled from much public speaking in many parts of the Indian sub-continent. I have decided otherwise, desiring that my readers should wish for more rather than less. I now look back over many years of happy public life, and my preference of late has been to observe and comment rather than to accept the many invitations I have received to take up further responsibilities in my own country and elsewhere.



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